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FRANCESCO FOSCARI, DOGE OF VENICE, TREVISO, ETC.

A.D. 1423–57.

(*From* NANI, *Serie de' Dogi.*)

HISTORY

OF THE

VENETIAN REPUBLIC:

HER RISE, HER GREATNESS,

AND

HER CIVILIZATION.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

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[1] "Ego Ordelaf Faledro Dei gratiâ Dux manu meâ scripsi."

HISTORY OF VENICE.

CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1414 to A.D. 1431.

Tommaso Mocenigo, Doge (Jan. 7, 1414)—Anecdote of Paolo Giuliani—Pacific Policy of Venice — Council of Constance — Election of Martin V. (Nov. 1417)—Anecdote of his Holiness—War with Turkey (1416) — Battle of Gallipoli — Peace with the Sultan (Aug. 8, 1416)—Situation of Italy—Ambition of Filippo-Maria Visconti — Amicable Relations between Venice, Florence, and Naples — Death of Carlo Zeno (May 8, 1418) — Travels of his brothers Nicolo and Antonio — Their Stay at Shetland — Fresh Rupture with Sigismund — Connivance of the Decemvirs at an Attempt to Assassinate him (July 3, 1415)—Success of the Venetian Arms—Acquisition of Friuli, Istria, and Dalmatia (1418-20)—And of a portion of Albania—Recovery of Scutari and other points—Acquisition of Corinth (1422)—The Count of Goricia becomes the Vassal of the Republic (1424)—Negotiations between Venice and Florence—Rejection by the former of the proposed Alliance against Filippo-Maria Visconti—Financial Statements of Mocenigo—His last Words—Death of the Doge (April 4, 1423)—Virtual Extinction of the Popular Assembly, and other Constitutional Changes—Election of Francesco Foscari (April 15)—Festivities — Anecdote of Mocenigo — Acquisition of Thessalonica (Saloniki)—The Lazaretti and Board of Health—Renewed Appeal of Florence—Its Rejection—Successive Defeats of the Florentines by the Milanese — Fresh Appeal to the Signory — Francesco di Carmagnola, his Birth and Fortunes—He Enters the Venetian Service—Negotiations with Milan on behalf of the Florentines—Growing Tendency to War—Speech of the Doge Foscari—League between Florence and the Republic (1425)—Attempt of Visconti to

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THE constitutional point agitated for the first time in 1410 in respect to the relations under certain circumstances between the Crown and the Avogaria, and conceded from deference to his great age, his sad infirmities and his extraordinary services, in favour of Steno, was soon permanently set at rest by the insertion of a declaratory clause in the Promission, which restrained his successors from following a course which had been allowed as an indulgence in a particular instance. The new Doge, elected on the 7th January, 1414, was Tommaso Mocenigo, Procurator of Saint Mark, and one of the diplomatists at Castelletto. His brother Leonardo and himself were the two sons of Pietro Mocenigo, a respectable senator, who also attained in his time the procuratorial dignity. It was Leonardo Mocenigo, of whom Carlo Zeno spoke so highly in his Modon despatch of October, 1403. So far back as 1379, Tommaso, then the Sopra-Comito of a galley, was employed by Vettore Pisani to convey to the Government of the day the disastrous result of the Battle of Pola. At the period of his election, Mocenigo was at Lodi on an embassy to the Emperor.

Twelve orators, accompanied by a secretary, were appointed to invite him to Venice, where he arrived on the 27th of the month.

So much as eleven days elapsed between the decease of Steno and the nomination of his successor; and it appears that this unusual delay arose from a somewhat droll incident. At first the Forty-one had been inclined to another candidate, Paolo Giuliani, one of themselves, and a grave and experienced personage, who had recently declined the Procuratorship; and this gentleman received a certain proportion of votes. But it was objected to Giuliani that he was no speaker, and the objection having been put in writing was handed to him, that he might say what he chose in his defence. "Thank God! my Lords," cried the Elector, "that you have nothing more to lay to my charge than this. Now, Messer Antonio Veniero, when he became Doge, was even less of an orator than myself. But when they made him Doge, he learned to talk; if you make me Doge, so will I!" The conclave, however, hesitated on consideration to try the experiment, and Mocenigo obtained six-and-twenty suffrages.[1]

Venice now seemed content to repose on her conquests; and the accession of Mocenigo promised, so far as Italian affairs were concerned, to inaugurate a neutral policy. The war, indeed, had left its traces behind it. The finances were in a totally disordered state. The comparatively meagre resources, which a

[1] Sanudo (fol. 887).

faulty method of taxation placed at the disposal of the Executive, were exhausted. It was to remedy these evils, that a committee was organized almost immediately after the truce of April, 1413, to alleviate the pressure imposed on the people by the extraordinary duties on many of the necessaries of life, and to balance the Public Accounts.[1]

The Council, which met at Pisa in 1409, added to the two existing Pontiffs (Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.) a third, Alexander V.; and the Church lost more than she gained by the change. Christianity only beheld a severer struggle and a graver scandal. Alexander, who was said to have been formerly a beggar, did not long continue, however, to wear the tiara: in 1410 he was replaced by John XXIII., a friend of Leonard Aretin, and a man of energetic character, but who in earlier life had been a pirate.[2] After his elevation to the Papal Chair, John drew still closer to Aretin, whose advice he was fond of asking on all weighty matters,[3] and he was frequently in consultation with him whole hours together.

In concert with John, Sigismund, elected a few months later[4] to the Imperial throne at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, applied himself to the laudable scheme of healing the wounds of the Church; and a second Council was appointed to meet at Constance in the winter of 1414. To that convocation were accredited

[1] Romanin (iv. 63).
[2] See, respecting this Pontiff, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 433.
[3] Aretini *Commentarius suorum Temporum* (Murat. xix. 928).
[4] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 57).

the three Venetian Cardinals, Giovanni Barbarigo, Antonio Condolmiero and Pietro Morosini; and the Republic pledged herself to abide religiously by its judgment. Gregory sent one of his Cardinals and Giovanni Contarini, Patriarch of Constantinople. Benedict and John were also represented. The proceedings were opened on the 5th November; and they were of the most boisterous and unseemly character. Words having risen between the Archbishop of Milan and the Archbishop of Pisa, those two dignitaries sprang from their seats, closed like wild beasts, and nearly throttled each other.[1] The confusion was scandalous; and many, trembling for their lives, actually jumped out of window. The end was, that Gregory resigned, and that after a lengthened delay Benedict and John were formally deposed. It was not till November, 1417, that the votes of the College of Cardinals centred in Ottone Colonna, who chose to style himself Martin V.[2]

Martin V. directed his exertions with unparalleled zeal and success to the extinction of the schism; and he shewed himself a man of superior courage and abilities to the majority of his predecessors. Nevertheless he had his enemies, and none more bitter than Braccio di Montone, Lord of Perugia. On one occasion,[3] his Holiness was at Florence when Braccio happened to pay a visit to that City; and

[1] Sanudo (fol. 911).

[2] Muratori (*Ann.* ix. 841); Della Robbia (*Vita di Bartolommeo Valori*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 263).

[3] Muratori (ix. 103).

the following of the Lord of Perugia exhibited their rancour and ingenuity by composing ballads in praise of their master, and in disparagement of the Pontiff, which were sung by the little boys in the streets. One of the ballads began :—

" Braccio valente
Che vince ogni gente:
Papa Martino
Non vale un quattrino." [1]

The Signory was not suffered to preserve for any length of time her pacific attitude. The constant collisions between her Mediterranean feudatories and the Turks, in which the former, from an intemperate and intolerant zeal, were as often the aggressors as otherwise, compelled her reluctantly to measure her strength for the first time with the naval forces of the Sultan, with whom indeed she was at peace. In the early part of 1416, a powerful, though small fleet was fitted out with this view. It was considered, that the War had arisen from the indiscreet ardour of the Colonies, and that the Colonies might therefore be fairly asked to contribute to its expenses. Venice herself gave five galleys: the remainder were furnished by Candia, Negropont, Andros, Corfu; and the command of the Squadron, reaching in the aggregate

[1] See also J. A. Campanus, *Vita Brachii Perusini* (Murat. xix. 566). Campanus gives two of the lines in a Latin version of his own, as I suspect:—

" Brachius invictus omnem debellat gentem;
Papa Martinus non valet quadrantem."

Della Robbia (*Vita di Bartolommeo Valori*, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 266). and Leonardi Aretini *Rerum suo Tempore* (1378–1440) *gestarum Commentarius* (Murat. xix. 931).

fifteen sail, was confided to Pietro Loredano, an officer of great promise, with the title of Captain-General and with a Staff of four Proveditors. The instructions of Loredano were to avoid an encounter, until he had come to a parley with the Turk, and had endeavoured to arrange the difficulty in an amicable manner.[1] The fleet was detained at Tenedos by contrary winds till the 24th May, 1416. On the 26th, it reached the Dardanelles, and on the following day the Captain-General found himself within ten miles of Gallipoli. On the morning of the 28th, at sunrise, he was proceeding to reconnoitre that place, when thirty-two vessels debouched from the Port. A conference between the two commanders succeeded, and the negotiation was progressing favourably, when the chase of a Genoese galley, which the Turks mistook for one of their own, by a Venetian, brought it to an abrupt close (May 29). The Turkish Admiral, Ciali-Beg, had the advantage of numbers, and he therefore gave battle with confidence. The conflict occupied several hours. The Mohammedans, with whom were many Catalans, Sicilians, Provençals, and Candiots, fought with desperate resolution. But they were thoroughly beaten, and sustained a heavy loss. The Venetian figures were

[1] *Letter of P. Loredano to the Doge*, June 2, 1416 (Murat. xxii. 901–9). The same year was famous for the great battle between the English and the Genoese fighting under French colours off the coast of France. "Also in the iiii. yere of Kynge Henrye (V.) the Duke of Bedforde and the Erle of Marche had a great battell upon the see with a flote of Januays, and the Englyeshsmen had the victorye, and toke iii. of the greattest of theyr caryckes."—Rastell's *Chronicle*, 1529, p. 250. See also Nicolas (*Hist. of the Navy*, ii. 420).

340 wounded more or less severely, and twelve killed. "By the galley of my brother, Ser Giorgio Loredano," writes the Captain in a Report which he addresses to the Doge from Tenedos, under date of the 2nd June, "were captured four galleys of twenty-two banks of oars, and two of twenty only. By Ser Jacopo Barbarigo were taken two, one of twenty-three, the other of nineteen banks, in all of which were Catalans, Sicilians, and other renegades, of whom the greater part had been already cut to pieces in the battle. The residue I have treated similarly, and the Comiti also I put to the sword, so that the Turks have no more captains; and among them was Georgius Calergi of Candia, a rebel, whom I caused to be cut to pieces on the poop of my galley, which punishment will be a warning to these caitiff Christians not to take pay from these infidels!" Loredano inclosed in his despatch a letter from the Sultan, which he had ordered to be translated from Greek into Latin, and he begged his Serenity to send him money to pay his men, as well as gunpowder and bomb-stones, of all of which he was sadly in want.

The vessel which conveyed the Report of Loredano started from Tenedos on the 2nd June,[1] reached Modon on the 19th, and arrived at its destination on the 30th, after a passage of eight-and-twenty days. The intelligence was of momentous interest. The check which had thus been given to the arms of the Crescent was the second, which they had received

[1] Sanudo (fol. 901).

since the beginning of the century; and the Venetian Government wrote to all the leading European Powers, apprising them of the glorious victory of Gallipoli.

On the 8th August following, the first preliminaries of peace between Turkey and the Signory were arranged; but the conclusion of a definite treaty was an operation which lingered over several years.[1] The final result was extremely advantageous to the Venetians. The interests of their commerce were greatly promoted. Additional guarantees for its security were conceded by the Sultan. The Republic was left at liberty to clear the Dardanelles and the Archipelago of the Turkish corsairs, who infested those waters. The prisoners were exchanged (1416-19).

At the same time, the condition of Italy was becoming more and more favourable to any ulterior projects of annexation or territorial extension, which Venice might entertain. Various in their character, but all terrible, were the revolutions, which shook the Peninsula from one extremity to the other; and a principle of absorption was again in active operation, fatal to the independent existence of those petty States to which the death of the Count of Vertus in 1402, or other causes, had afforded a transient enjoyment of freedom and importance. Of so many boroughs and municipalities, which had flourished in the preceding century, four only retained their glory and their power —Venice, Milan, Florence, and Naples.

The fortunes of the House of Visconti were now

[1] Romanin (iv. 74–5).

watched with deep interest and anxiety by Italy and the world. Of the three children of Giovanni-Galeazzo, one alone, Filippo-Maria, now remained. Gabriello sold Pisa to the Florentines in 1406,[1] and perished at Genoa in 1408. In 1412, Giovanni-Maria, the eldest, was assassinated by Filippo. The latter, who thus succeeded to the whole patrimony, joined less than his father's astuteness and force of character to all his callousness, all his dread of the touch of cold steel or the sight of a red coat, and all his ambition. The object, which the Duke of Milan proposed to himself, was the recovery of the various cities which had been wrested from his family during the Regency, and the restoration of the Milanese empire to its pristine grandeur. At Cesena, at Rimini, at Pesaro, at Bergamo, at Brescia, Filippo-Maria beheld a Malatesta wielding the sovereignty. Parma, Reggio, and Modena were incorporated with the estates of the House of Este. Florence had annexed Pisa, and menaced the Lucchese. Bologna belonged to the Church. Siena acknowledged no yoke. The master of Crema was a Benzoni; of Lodi, a Vignate;[2] of Cremona, a Fondulo. The Arcelli were Lords of Piacenza; Andrea Braccio di Montone was Lord of Perugia. Lastly, Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Feltre, Belluno, belonged to

[1] *Sei Capitoli dell' Acquisto di Pisa dai Fiorentini nel* 1406: *Arch. Stor. Ital.* vi. part. 2; *Matthæi Palmerii Florentini de Captivitate Pisarum, seu de Bello contra Pisas a Florentinis gesto anno* 1406, *Commentarius.* Murat. xix.

[2] *Il Conte Francesco di Carmagnola, Memorie Storico-Critiche, con Documenti Inediti, da Francesco Berlan Veneziano:* Torino, 1855; Cagnola (*Storia di Milano; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iii. 29).

Venice. To win back gradually these dismembered possessions, was the aim of the Duke; and his insatiable thirst for power and dominion soon renewed the apprehensions which at the death of his father had momentarily subsided.

The narrow jealousy reigning among the numerous towns, which had thus secured for themselves an ephemeral independence, was admirably favourable to the gigantic projects of Filippo-Maria, whose agents studiously fomented their dissensions. Another cause, which contributed to a similar result, lay in the enterprising character and military genius of the Lord of Perugia. By continual aggressions upon his neighbours and by ceaseless quarrels with the Malatesti, Braccio weakened both himself and his enemies, and played into the hands of an enemy far more formidable.

Happily for the Malatesti and other minor States of the like origin, a Power even greater than Milan was at present interested in their preservation. Conscious of the dangerous character of the Duke on the one hand, and aware of the hostile intentions of Sigismund on the other, the Venetians addressed themselves with energy to the creation of a barrier against the former, who was, at all events, the less pressing; and in December, 1414, an alliance was negotiated, under their auspices and guarantee, between Filippo-Maria and the petty Lombard Princes. With Florence the Signory was on sufficiently amicable terms; and in July, 1416, a defensive treaty was concluded by the

Doge with Joan II. of Naples. These measures left Venice in an infinitely better position to cope with Sigismund, and to carry out the ambitious designs which, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasion of a certain party in her Councils, she still persisted in cherishing.

Several efforts had been made, during some years passed, without result to induce Sigismund to listen to a compromise; and the Republic even undertook to hold Dalmatia by a nominal tribute of 7,000 ducats. It appears that in July, 1415, a proposition was conveyed to the Ten, by whom the diplomatic arrangements were being superintended, on the part of some fellow whose name has not survived, to despatch the Emperor and the two Scaligers by poison, and that the Council had the baseness, not uncommon in those days, nor unknown to later times, to countenance the attempt. But the attempt did not succeed.[1] War became inevitable.

The Republic, continually menaced by Sigismund, and compelled to number among contingencies a new war in the Frioul, had long felt an ardent desire to strengthen herself on the threatened points. With such an object in view, she had been negotiating with the Captain of Trento and the Court of Vienna itself, which was at present on cool terms with his Majesty, since the summer of 1415, for the cession, among other places, of Roveredo, a stronghold on the east side of the Adige, ten miles south of Trento. The Lord

[1] Romanin (iv. 77).

of Roveredo, Aldrigetto di Lizana, had been formerly under Venetian protection; but, subsequently espousing the cause of Sigismund, he had afforded shelter to the outlawed or rebel subjects of the Signory, had impeded the navigation of the river, which flowed through his lands, by the levy of arbitrary dues, and had perpetrated other grave infractions of international right. Reprisal was at length made on the offender by the sack of portions of his territory (1416); he was finally obliged to seek the intercession of the Duke of Austria; and through that channel an arrangement was concluded, by which the Castle was consigned, during a certain period, to the Venetians as a material guarantee. Lizana, however, broke faith shortly afterward by intriguing with the Emperor against Venice; and the Government of the Doge, armed with this ample pretext, at once entered into complete possession of the fortress, and (August 23, 1418[1]) set a price upon the head of Aldrigetto.

Meanwhile, an occurrence of a very different complexion threw the Venetian capital into mourning, and saddened the heart of every one who bore the Venetian name throughout the world. On the 8th May, 1418, in his 84th year, died one of the most illustrious men whom the Republic had yet produced. Outliving by eight-and-thirty years Pisani, his companion in arms and partner in glory, CARLO ZENO survived to witness the resurrection of Venetian freedom and the apparent approach to its zenith of Venetian greatness. His

[1] Romanin (iv. 73).

exequies, like those of Pisani, were attended by the Doge, the Privy Council, the Ten, and all the other great officers of State; and the weather-beaten veterans, who had fought under him in a hundred battles, and who had bled with him at Zonchio, were the carriers of his bier. All Venice poured forth to behold with moistened eyes the committal to the earth of the perishable remains of the great soldier, of that poor human tenement, where many an arrow and bullet had left their trace in forty scars; and a declamatory but eloquent oration was pronounced over the grave of Zeno by his friend Leonardo Giustiniani.

Since his release from confinement in 1407, Zeno had passed his time chiefly at Venice, in contemplative seclusion and the society of learned persons. The relish which this gifted and truly admirable man had imbibed in his boyhood for the pursuits of literature, his conversance with the classics, both Latin and Greek, and his proficiency in several branches of science, were exceeded only by his transcendent genius as a general, as a naval commander, and as a diplomatist. He was one of those spirits, rare in any age, especially rare in one when liberal knowledge was sparsely diffused, and in a profession from which such knowledge was too often accounted alien, who aimed at something beyond the mastery of mathematics and trigonometry. It is alleged by his descendant, Pier Angelo Zeno, that the hero left behind him a collection of his speeches on various occasions.[1] His

[1] *Memorie*, 1662, 12°, *in voce Zeno*.

CARLO ZENO.

B. 1334 : D. 1418.

(*From* VITA CAROLI ZENI : *Murat XIX.*)

nephew and biographer,[1] the Bishop of Feltre and Belluno, says that his ancestor preserved his eyesight to the last day of his life, and "never wore spectacles."

The fortunes of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, the brothers of Carlo, were remarkable. After the War of Chioggia, the former equipped a vessel, and embarked on a voyage of discovery round the French and English coasts. But having been overtaken by a tempest, he was thrown upon one of the Shetland Isles, where he was hospitably received by a local potentate, whom he calls Zimchni.[2] Prince Zimchni invited his guest to remain with him; and the Venetian was subsequently joined by his brother. Antonio, however, did not long outlive his arrival in Shetland. After his death, Nicolo remained in the service of the Prince; and, treading in the footsteps of the Norman pioneers, he extended his explorations westward so far as Newfoundland. Zeno saw Iceland and Greenland, and touched the eastern point of Labrador. It was in the winter season that he reached Newfoundland (*Terra-Nuova*); and in the spring he had proposed to pursue his travels. But his crew mutinied, and he was obliged to abandon his plan. A chart of the route which Nicolo Zeno took was prepared by the two brothers, in all likelihood before their departure; and so recently as the sixteenth century, at least, this precious relic was in existence. In 1558, it was published by

[1] Jacobus Zenus (*Vita C. Z.*; Murat. xix.)

[2] Caterino Zeno, *Dello Scoprimento del Isole Frislande, &c.*, da due Fratelli Zeni (at the end of the *Viaggi in Persia*: 1558, 8°).

Caterino Zeno, in an appendix to his own "*Travels in Persia*;" and it bears date 1380. It must be feared, that the original has now been irrecoverably lost.

In the same year in which Zeno died, a new Hungarian army entered the Frioul. Two distinct political parties now divided that Province. One, headed by Tristano Savorgnano of Udine, favoured the Venetians. The other, led by the Patriarch of Aquileia, a German, supported the Imperial cause. It was the aim of the Signory to localize the War, and by the rapidity of her movements to preclude the enemy from advancing into the Trevisan. In this object she succeeded; and the Aquileian territory was violated indeed, before the five years' truce of April, 1413, had quite expired. The Venetian forces were again intrusted to Pandolfo Malatesta, under whom served Savorgnano, Filippo Arcelli of Piacenza, and several other renowned captains.

It was difficult, after all, to know how the Republic could have embarked in her fresh struggle against the Emperor at a more fortunate moment or under brighter auspices. Sigismund, in truth, was thrown completely out of his calculations. His attention was unexpectedly diverted from Italian affairs to those of Germany. The Hussites were convulsing Bohemia. The Turks were invading the Hungarian frontier. He was obliged to employ in those two provinces the troops, which he had hoped to be able to concentrate in the Frioul; and the path which lay before the Signory was consequently smooth enough. The rebellion of the Bohemian heretics and the difficulties in Hungary were concurrent

circumstances of a sufficiently striking character to justify a suspicion that some secret collusion existed between the Sultan and the Government of Mocenigo, and that some broad pieces of Venetian coinage found their way to Prague.

The embarrassment of Sigismund was so unequivocal that that Prince even now evinced a disposition to treat; and the Signory renewed (October—November, 1418) her offer of 7,000 ducats a year as a tribute for Dalmatia. But his Majesty, embittered, perhaps, against the Venetians by the recollections of 1415, and instigated by his minion De Tech, the German patriarch of Aquileia, remained stubbornly impracticable; and Malatesta opened hostilities without farther delay.

A series of triumphs such as she had never yet known was in store for the Republic. The Patriarch of Aquileia, Louis de Tech, whom the Court of Germany had elected in 1408 to the prejudice of Antonio Panciera,[1] a Churchman of Venetian sympathies, was her sole opponent; and the resistance of De Tech was promptly crushed. Sacile surrendered. The example was imitated by Cividale, Prata, Portogruaro, and other places. Arcelli rendered himself master (April—May, 1420) of Feltre and Belluno, beating the troops of Sigismund from all their positions. On the 19th June, Udine capitulated; and this important event prepared the way to other conquests. On the

[1] *Dei buoni uffizi della Repubblica di Venezia a favore del Cardinale Antonio Panciera, Patriarca d'Aquileia, Studio Storico sopro documenti inediti (di Eugenio Bono)*: Venezia, 1857, 8°.

5th August, Aquileia succumbed, and De Tech was bitterly humiliated. It was in vain that the Holy See attempted to intercede for the fallen Churchman. The Venetian Senate replied, "that if the expenses of the war were paid by the Patriarch, the Province should be restored." De Tech was ultimately constrained to accept an annuity of 3,500 ducats, with a limited jurisdiction over the City of Aquileia and the small domains of San Daniello and San Vito;[1] and the district was saved from pillage by the payment of a black-mail of 30,000 ducats.

In the wake of these achievements followed the recovery of Istria and Dalmatia. On the 12th May, 1420,[2] the Hero of Gallipoli, Pietro Loredano, again commissioned as Captain-General, sailed from Venice with a squadron of fifteen galleys, and received the submission of Almissa, Brassa, Lesina, Curzola, Spalatro, and Budua (May—September, 1420). Cattaro also tendered its allegiance, on the understanding that its transfer by the Republic to any other Power would be tantamount to a dissolution of the mutual tie.[3] At Trau, a vigorous defence was offered by the Hungarian garrison, but that place was finally reduced on the 27th June, a week later than the cession of Udine.

At the same time, the Signory carried her[4] uncon-

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 107). See also Sanudo (fol. 933 and 939).

[2] Romanin (iv. 85).

[3] Dupré (*Essai Historique et Commercial sur les bouches de Cattaro*) quoted by Daru (ii. 278).

[4] Sanudo (fol. 938).

querable and paralyisng arms into Albania, and regained Scutari, Drivasto, Dulcigna, Antivari, and other points along that littoral, which the Emperor vainly sought to wrest from her grasp.[1] In 1422, Centurion Zaccaria, Lord of Corinth, ceded that beautiful city and highly valuable position to Venice. Lastly, in 1424, the Count of Goricia, overawed by the prodigious result of the war, consented to become the vassal of the Republic.

Thus hardly half a century had passed since the Treaty of Turin, and the Venetians found themselves, by what might almost seem a caprice of fortune, yet which was to a large extent the force of their overmastering energy and advanced civilization, the rulers of Padua, Verona, Vicenza and its adjuncts, Treviso, the Frioul, Istria, Cadore, Dalmatia, a portion of Albania, some of the Ionian Islands, and Candia.

In the late war, the Republic lost one of her Generals, Filippo Arcelli, Lord of Piacenza. His death was deeply regretted. He was a brave soldier, and a master of his profession. But he is said to have been an ill-liver and outrageously addicted to profane swearing. Some years before, when Piacenza was taken by the Lieutenant of the Duke of Milan, Arcelli, finding himself unable to make any farther resistance, fled to Padua, where he was seized by illness. Imagining that he was on the point of death, he exclaimed on one occasion—"Alas me! I bequeath my body to the Venetians, my property to my children, and my soul

[1] Muratori (*Ann.* ix. 107).

to the Devil of Hell!"[1] A grimmer and more insane blasphemy it is hard to conceive.

The constitution of the Frioul, which was already composed of three distinct estates—the City of Udine, the Parliament, and the *Contadinanza*[2]—and which appeared sufficiently well adapted to the wants of the Province, did not suffer any change under the Venetian sway beyond that which the Statutes of Verona and the other Lombard conquests had undergone. The Republic confirmed the Statutes, left all civil jurisdiction to her new subjects, and preserved in its full integrity their administrative system, so far as it affected details of fiscal economy. To herself she reserved the faculty of appointing a Lieutenant, control over the prosecutions in criminal cases, and appellate power in the last resort.

The proceedings relative to the appointment of a Lieutenant of the Frioul took place in the Pregadi on the 20th June, 1420.[3] It was proposed by Giovanni Navagiero, one of the Privy Council, that the new functionary should be elected by four *hands*, that his salary should be 1,500 ducats, that he should have a deputy at 100 a month, and should be required to keep twelve servants and twelve horses. The motion of Navagiero was carried without amendment; but it was not found easy to persuade any one to accept a

[1] Cagnola (*Stor. di Milano*, lib. ii.; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iii.)

[2] Sandi (*Storia*, lib. vi. cap. 6). The *Constitutioni del Patria de Friule:* Udine, 1484, 4°, is said to have been the first book printed in the Frioul.

[3] Sanudo (fol. 934).

post which seemed to involve great responsibility without corresponding emolument. Fantino Michieli was chosen in the first instance, but declined. The next was Albano Badoer; Badoer also excused himself. The third person who was named, however, was more amenable. It was Roberto Morosini.[1]

In Udine itself, the Nobles and the People formed two Councils, the *Greater Council* and the *Convocation*, which managed conjointly all internal affairs, nominated to all subordinate posts under Government, and deliberated on concerns coming within their cognizance.

The Greater Council consisted of 154 Nobles and eighty Commoners (*popolani*), who sat on separate benches and balloted separately; the Councillors held their seats for life; no family was permitted to send more than one representative; and members were not qualified, until they had reached their thirtieth year, and unless they were residents of Udine.

The Convocation, or *Minor Council*, counted fifteen Nobles and two popolani; and its functions were executive. Subsequently to the embodiment of the Frioul with the Venetian dominions, its weight was greatly increased by the presence of the Lieutenant, who became its President, and took the chair at every sitting.

The Parliament was the general Legislative Body for the whole Province. Upon its benches sat the Archbishops, Bishops, and other clerical dignitaries

[1] Sandi (lib. vi. cap. 5).

representing the Church, the Castellans in the feudal interest, and the Delegates of the Cities. The Parliament was viewed as the High Court of Judicature, both in civil and criminal pleas. But an appeal lay from its decisions to the Lieutenant, and from the Lieutenant in certain cases to the Signory. In short, it is easy to perceive how, under the semblance of extreme moderation, the College grasped with an extremely firm and tight hand the reins of government in the Frioul.

Thirdly, the Contadinanza (*corpo villatico*) represented all the towns, which contributed to the central exchequer of Udine. It was composed of eight Syndics, who were elected by the urban deputies in the presence of the governor of each district.[1]

Filippo-Maria Visconti was now recovering by rapid strides the vast dominions of his father. His prodigality and the genius of his general, Francesco Bussone,[2] carried all before them. Monza, Como, Lodi, Trezzo, Martenengo, and many other places,[3] fell successively into his hands. Piacenza cost him 7,000 ducats; Brescia, 30,000. By his marriage with Beatrice Tenda, widow and heiress of Facino Cane, he acquired Alessandria, Pavia, and Novara.[4]

In a gallant defence which he made at Piacenza, Filippo Arcelli had sought or accepted the assistance

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[1] Sandi (lib. vi. cap. 5).
[2] *Memorie Storico-Critiche di Carmagnola*, p. 9.
[3] Muratori (*Ann.* ix. 82, 127).
[4] Ibid. (*Annali*, ix. 19, 27, 61).

of the Genoese. Than this circumstance Visconti could desire no better pretext for directing his arms against that Power, newly released from the tyranny of Boucicault; Carmagnola marched upon Genoa; and after a spasm of liberty, the Republic relapsed into servitude on the 2nd November, 1421. The Doge or Governor, Tommaso Campo-Fregoso, who had connived at the project, was suffered for the present to retain the petty sovereignty of Sarzana, and received 30,000 florins for his services. At the same time, the Duke purchased of his brother Spineta Fregoso for a moiety of the amount the City of Savona.[1]

Of all the great Italian States, Florence had the clearest and strongest grounds for dreading this reflux of Milanese conquest. Naples, rent by the contest for the succession between the rival Houses of Arragon and Anjou, was too much occupied by her own affairs to take any deep or useful interest in Italian politics. Venice herself, although she was equally distrustful of the Duke, entertained no immediate apprehensions from that source, and resisted all the efforts which were made to induce her to come to an open rupture with Filippo-Maria. The Republic was at present indeed more solicitous of courting his alliance against Sigismund than of converting him into an enemy who might coalesce with the Emperor against herself; and in the February of 1422, Visconti having yielded to the Signory certain points on which she insisted, a

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 107).

defensive alliance for ten years[1] was concluded between the Powers.

But whatever his ulterior plans might be, Filippo-Maria was not yet prepared to make any overt attack on the liberties of Tuscany. His Lombard schemes were engrossing his attention; and it suited his convenience to disguise the cordial grudge, which he nourished toward the country of the Medici for the purchase of Leghorn from the Genoese.[2] So lately as 1420 (February 8[3]), the Florentines, cajoled by his specious professions of justice, amity, and moderation, had become parties to a time-serving treaty with that consummate hypocrite.

The acquisition of Genoa and Savona in 1421, and of Forli in 1422, soon awakened the Florentines from their momentary dream of security. They demanded of the Duke by letter an explanation of his purpose; but nothing beyond shuffling protests of friendship, and a vague offer to submit to the arbitration of the Pope and the Signory, could be elicited from a dissembler, in comparison with whom the Count of Vertus was an upright and unsophisticated politician. The effort was renewed. An embassy, consisting of Bartolomeo Valori and Nello da San Geminiano, both citizens of high standing, was sent to Milan. But, from a report that the pestilence had manifested itself in the locality from which they came, permission was

[1] Romanin (iv. 88).

[2] Diedo (*Stor. di Venezia*, lib. ix.)

[3] *Istorie di Firenze anonime*, 1406–38 (Murat. xix. 965).

denied to Valori and his colleague to enter Milan; and the delegates consequently returned home, having declined, out of regard to the dignity of their City,[1] to transact business with the Secretary, whom the Duke had despatched to meet them with that object. At the same time, the Government of Florence conceived the situation of affairs to be so critical, that it secretly requested the Marquis of Mantua to intimate to the Doge on its behalf its desire to enter into a defensive league with the Signory (May 17, 1422). His Serenity replied that the matter was assuredly of the utmost gravity, and that he would lay the papers before the Senate. But the Florentines, observing no progress made toward a decision, solicited an answer. Mocenigo stated thereupon that *if they were really desirous of adopting such a step*, he would accredit some person clothed with suitable powers to treat.

A second pause ensued. At last, on the 30th March, 1423, a despatch arrived, of which the substance was that, as the Florentines understood the confederacy of February, 1422, between Venice and Milan to have had principally in view the hostile attitude of the Emperor, they might tender their mediation, and thus supersede the necessity for the alliance.

The question was carried to the Pregadi; and the Doge, though severely indisposed, harangued that Body at some length in the interest of peace. His chief opponent and the leading advocate of the Florentine

[1] Della Robbia (*Vita di Valori; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 272).

proposition was Francesco Foscari, Procurator of Saint Mark, and a distinguished diplomatist. It was against Foscari that Mocenigo directed a portion of his argument.

"Young Procurator," began his Serenity, addressing Foscari, whose years he was apt, as one who remembered him as a child, to overlook, "what happened to Troy, will happen to Florence, and will happen to you. By wars the Trojans were weakened and enslaved; by wars Florence is destroying herself, and we shall do the like, if we take counsel with our young Procurator. It is to the arts of peace that our City owes all her prosperity; it is to them that she is indebted for her riches, the increase of her population, and her houses. Pisa aggrandized herself by similar means, and by her good government. She plunged into war, impoverished herself, was lost. So it will be with us, if we listen to our young Procurator. Let me recommend you, Ser Francesco, not to come to hasty conclusions on this matter. Remember that Florence is not the Port of Venice, either by land or water: for her sea is removed from our boundaries five days' journey. Our Passes are the Veronese. The Duke of Milan is the Prince whose territory is contiguous to our own; and he must be kept in check, since it is scarcely a day's march to his City of Brescia, which lies close to Verona and Cremona. Genoa, again, has sufficient maritime power under the Ducal rule to do us harm; with her we should endeavour to stand well; and if the Genoese are guilty of any

excesses, we shall have justice on our side, and we can defend ourselves with fairness, both against them and the Duke. The mountains of the Veronese are our barrier against Visconti.

"*If the Duke should get Florence, the Florentines, who are accustomed to Republican institutions, will evacuate their City doubtless, will emigrate hither, and will bring with them their trade in silk and wool,* so that that country will remain destitute of industrial resources: while Venice, on the contrary, will multiply and thrive, just as it happened in the case of Lucca, when that citizen (Castruccio) made himself master there. The trade of Lucca and her wealth were transferred to Venice, and Lucca became poor and thinly populated. Therefore preserve peace.

"Ser Francesco, I pray you resolve me this. Suppose you had a garden, which was furnishing sustenance to 500 persons and to spare, and which cost you nothing; and suppose again, that robbers were to threaten this garden, and you in its defence were obliged to hire so many men with the gold which you had collected in your coffers! Is not our case, then, parallel? By virtue of a resolution passed in Council, we have ascertained the extent of our commerce at the present period:—

	Ducats.
Every week we receive from Milan, for our goods, between 17,000 and 18,000 ducats, which amount by the year to . . .	900,000
From Monza . . 1,000 . . .	52,000
Como, . . 2,000 . . .	104,000
Carried forward . . .	1,056,000

	Ducats.
Brought forward .	1,056,000
From Alessandria . 1,000 . .	52,000
Tortona and Novara 2,000 . .	104,000
Pavia . . 2,000 . .	104,000
Cremona, . . 2,000 . .	104,000
Bergamo, . . 1,500 . .	78,000
Parma . . 2,000 . .	104,000
Piacenza, . . 1,000 . .	52,000
	1,654,000

Our Bankers report that, on the whole, the Milanese pay us annually 1,612,000 ducats. Prythee, tell me, if you do not think that this is a fine and noble garden, which costs Venice nothing!

"Again:—

				Ducats.
Tortona and Novara employ every year 6,000 pieces of our cloth, at 15 ducats the piece, which make				90,000
Pavia . .	3,000	pieces at	15 ducats . .	45,000
Milan . .	4,000	„	30 „ . .	120,000
Como .	12,000	„	15 „ . .	180,000
Monza . .	6,000	„	15 „ . .	90,000
Brescia .	5,000	„	15 „ . .	75,000
Bergamo	10,000	„	7 „ . .	70,000
Cremona	4,000	„	4¼ „ . .	17,000
Parma .	4,000	„	15 „ . .	60,000
	90,000			900,000

"In the aggregate, the commerce with Lombardy alone is worth 28,800,000 ducats a year. Tell me, if you do not think that Venice has here a very fine garden indeed!

	Ducats.
Moreover, the *Canepins*[1] represent . . .	100,000
Cottons	280,000
Carried forward . .	380,000

[1] I understand this word to signify pieces of hemp, or perhaps sailcloth. See Ducange *in voce* Canebrinus.

	Ducats.
Brought forward	380,000
French and Catalan wools	240,000
Cloths of gold and silk	250,000
Pepper	300,000
Sugar-canes	64,000
Sugar	95,000
Ginger	8,000
Green ginger	—
Other miscellaneous articles	30,000
Brazil-wood	120,000
Cochineal and *Endachi*[1]	50,000
Soap	250,000
Slaves	30,000
Freights, &c., at 2½ and 3 per cent.	600,000
	2,571,000
[And this is exclusively of the salt which is sold every year	1,000,000]
	3,571,000

"Such is the produce of your garden. Shall we destroy it? By no means.

Every year Verona buys of cloths of gold, silver or silk, 200 pieces.

Vicenza	120
Padua	200
Treviso	120
The Frioul	50
Feltre and Cividal di Belluno	12
	702

"In our time, we have seen Giovanni-Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, who conquered all Lombardy, save Florence, the Romagna, and the Campagna di Roma, reduced to such straits by his expenses that he was obliged to remain quiet during five years; and it was with much ado then that he paid his troops. So it happens to all. If you preserve peace, you will amass so much money, that all the world will hold you in

[1] A species of logwood.

awe. My Lords, you see how, year by year, in consequence of the troubles of Italy, families migrate hither, and help to swell our population. If the Florentines give themselves to the Duke, so much the worse for them who interfere! Justice is with us. They have spent everything, and are in debt. We have a capital of 10,000,000, on which we gain 4,000,000. Live in peace, fear nothing, and trust not the Florentines! Your College has desired to be informed of the revenue, which we derive from the territory between Verona and Mestre; it is 464,000 ducats. On the other hand, it has desired to know the expenditure. But with the best peace in the world, the expenditure must go far to swallow up the receipts. My Lords, I am not saying these things to glorify myself. But in truth, you hear our Captains at Aiguesmortes and Flanders, our Ambassadors, our Consuls, our Merchants, telling you with one accord: 'My Lords of Venice, you have a virtuous and good prince, who has kept you in tranquillity; you are the only Power who traverse the sea and the land; you are the fountain of trade and the purveyors of the world; you are welcome everywhere!' On the contrary, around you is nought but war, flame, tribulation. Italy, France, Spain, Catalonia, England, Burgundy, Persia, Russia, Hungary, all are at war. We wage battle against the Infidels only; and great are the praise and glory which we reap. So long as I live, my Lords, I will maintain those principles which I have hitherto followed, and which consist in living at peace!"

The weighty financial statement,[1] which had been prepared by the proper Departments for the information and use of the College, and which was delivered by the Doge himself in spite of his weak condition, admirably answered its object. Mocenigo was authorized "to thank the Florentine Executive for its offers, and to regret that its friendly offices could not be accepted, inasmuch as several fruitless efforts of the same kind had already been made, and the federation with the Duke was concluded from an anxious regard to the common safety of Italy."[2]

A day or two only after these important and interesting proceedings in the Pregadi, the old Doge, who was now in his 80th year, felt the presentiment strengthening in his mind of his approaching end; and summoning to his bedside the principal senators and ministers, he tendered to them, in the following terms,[3] the advice of a dying man:—

"My Lords, from the infirm state in which I find myself, I judge that I am drawing near the close of my career; and the obligations under which I lie to a country, which has not only bred me, but has permitted me to attain such lofty prominence, and has showered upon me so many honours, have prompted

[1] In the pages of Sanudo (fol. 946-58), which furnish all the foregoing particulars, there are numerous anachronisms, and other inaccuracies, which seem to prove the text very corrupt. The Doge is made to shew in several instances an inconceivable ignorance of the history of his own times, and to allude to occurrences which did not take place till after his death.

[2] Romanin (iv. 92).

[3] I have preferred the version of Romanin (iv. 93) to that of Sanudo, which I suspect of having come down to us in a corrupt shape.

me to call you together around me, in order that I may commend to your care this Christian City, and persuade you to live in concord with your neighbours, and to preserve this City, as I have done to the best of my ability. In my time, 4,000,000 of the Public Debt have been paid off, though 6,000,000 more remain, the latter of which were contracted for the war of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. We have regularly paid the half-yearly interest on the Funds and the salaries of the Public Offices. Our City at present sends abroad for purposes of trade in various parts of the world 10,000,000 ducats a year, of which the interest is not less than 2,000,000. In this City there are 3,000 vessels of smaller burden, which carry 17,000 seamen; 300 large ships, carrying 8,000 seamen; five-and-forty galleys and dromons constantly in commission for the protection of commerce, which employ 11,000 seamen, 3,000 carpenters, 3,000 caulkers. Of silk-clothworkers there are 3,000; of manufacturers of fustian, 16,000. The Rent-Roll is estimated at 7,050,000 ducats. The income arising from let houses is 150,000. We find 1,000 gentlemen[1] with means varying between 700 and 4,000 ducats a year. If you continue to prosper in this manner, you will become masters of all the gold in Christendom. But, I beseech you, keep your fingers from your neighbours, as you would keep them out of the fire, and engage in no unjust wars: for in such errors God will not support princes! Everybody knows that the Turkish

[1] *i.e.*, of course, of the middle class.

War has rendered you expert and brave in maritime enterprises. You have six able Captains, competent to command large fleets. You have many persons well versed in diplomacy and in the government of Cities, who are ambassadors of perfect experience. You have numerous Doctors in different sciences, and especially in the Law, who enjoy high credit for their learning among strangers. Your Mint coins annually 1,000,000 ducats of gold and 200,000 ducats of silver, of minor pieces, 800,000. Of this sum, 500,000 go to Syria, 100,000 to the Terra-Ferma, 100,000[1] to various other places, 100,000 to England. The remainder is used at home. You are aware that the Florentines send here every year 16,000 pieces of fine cloth, of which we dispose in Barbary, Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Romania, the Morea and Istria, and that they bring to our City monthly 60,000 (70,000 ?) ducats' worth of merchandize, amounting annually to 840,000 or more, and in exchange purchase our goods to our great advantage. Therefore, it behoves you to beware, lest this City decline. It behoves you to exercise extreme caution in the choice of my successor, IN WHOSE POWER IT WILL BE, TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, TO GOVERN THE REPUBLIC FOR GOOD OR FOR EVIL. Many of you lean to Messer Marino Caravello, who is a worthy man, and deserves that position from his eminent qualities. Messer Francesco Bembo is a good man. So is Messer Giacomo Trevisano, and likewise Messer Piero Loredano. Messer Antonio Contarini,

[1] Sanudo (fol. 960).

M. Fantino Michieli, M. Albano Badoer, all these have recommendations. Many again are inclined to Messer Francesco Foscari, and do not, I apprehend, sufficiently know his impetuous character, and proud, supercilious disposition. *Abbrazia molto e poco stringe.* If he is made Doge, you will be at war continually. Those who now possess 10,000 ducats, will have only 1,000. Those who possess ten houses will be proprietors of one, and those who own ten coats will be reduced to a single coat![1] You will lose your money and your reputation. You will be at the mercy of a soldiery! I have found it impossible to forbear expressing to you thus my opinion. May God help you to make the wisest choice! May He rule your hearts to preserve peace!"[1]

Such were the last words of a great and prophetic statesman. The glaze of death was soon upon those eyes. Those lips were soon mute. On the 4th April,[2] 1423, Tommaso Mocenigo expired, leaving his country more prosperous and opulent than she had ever yet been. Her treasury was full. Her debt was considerably reduced. The statistics of her taxation and expenditure exhibited a surplus of a million a year. Her home and foreign trade was flourishing beyond any precedent. No European Power was more highly respected, and the alliance of none was more eagerly sought and cultivated.

The foregoing details afford a vivid picture of the commerce of Venice in the first half of the fifteenth

[1] Sanudo (fol. 959).

[2] Ibid. (fol. 968); *Chroniche Veneziane*, ii. 399 (Add. MSS. 8579).

century. A correct view of the taxation and expenditure of the Republic at the same epoch, which is already stated to have left an annual balance in favour of the Exchequer of one million ducats, is subjoined in detail.[1]

	Receipts.	Deduction for Collecting, &c.	Net Income.
	Ducats.	Ducats.	Ducats.
The Frioul	7,500	6,330	1,170
Treviso and its District	40,000	10,100	29,900
Padua	65,500	14,000	51,500
Vicenza	34,500	7,600	26,900
Verona	52,500	18,000	34,500
Venice :—			
Salt Department, ... 165,000			
Profits of the Loan Chamber 150,000	698,000	99,780	598,720
Other Receipts ... 383,000			
Colonial Taxes	180,000	...	180,000
Other extraordinary Receipts ...	25,000	6,000	19,000
Loans on Demand	15,000	7,500	7,500
Property out of the Dogado (Houses, &c.)	5,000	...	5,000
The Clergy	22,000	2,000	20,000
The Jews	600	...	600
Commercial Tenths	16,000	6,000	10,000
Freights, &c.	6,000	4,000	2,000
Exchange (Duty)	20,000	12,000	8,000
Total...	1,187,600	193,310	996,290

The practical arguments of Mocenigo for the preservation of peace had proved themselves for the moment at least irresistible; but his counsel touching the appointment of a successor did not carry like weight. In anticipation of the event which had now taken place, "Ser Francesco" had during some time passed been actively engaged in propitiating by various means

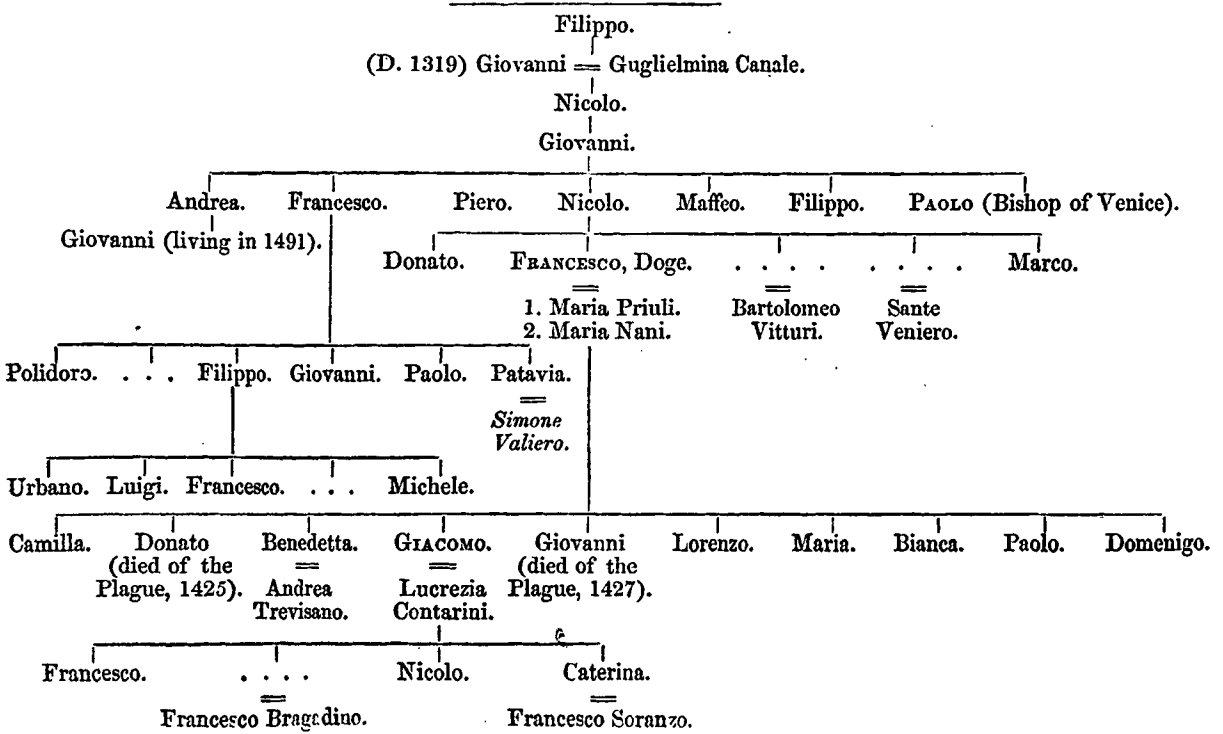
[1] Daru (ii. 286), corrected from Sanudo (fol. 963).

those whom he conceived to be the most probable arbiters of the forthcoming election; his uncle Francesco, or Franzi, the Senior Privy Councillor: Albano Badoer, one of the Chiefs of the Ten: several members of the noble Houses of Nani, Priuli, Giustiniani, Donato, Ruzzini, with whom his own family had intermarried, were in his confidence and interest; and from a manifest wish to curry favour with a certain class, he had in his capacity as one of the Procurators of Saint Mark distributed 30,000 ducats of the public money in judicious dowers and charities.[1] Francesco was one of the three sons of Nicolo Foscari, a brother of Paolo, Bishop of Venice, who had earned an unenviable and damaging notoriety in the preceding century by his difference with the Government of Andrea Contarini on the subject of mortuaries. Bishop Paolo not only lost his cause, but sadly impoverished his family; Nicolo was a sufferer among the rest; and this gentleman fell into so much odium, and became so reduced in circumstances, that he spent a good deal of the later portion of his life abroad.[2] The fortunes of the family, however, were retrieved by his son Francesco, who at an unusually early age discovered abilities of the highest order, and rose to deserved eminence as a minister of State and diplomatist. In 1401, he was a Chief of the Forty; and in that capacity he became one of the warmest advocates of

[1] Sanudo (fol. 968).

[2] Litta (*Celebri Famiglie Italiane, in voce Foscari*). The pedigree of the Doge, corrected by Berlan, is subjoined.

PEDIGREE OF THE DOGE FOSCARI.



the war against Francesco Novello. He had filled several embassies between 1405 and 1420. He had been three several times a Chief of the Ten. In 1410, 1412, 1415, 1417, and 1418, he is found officiating as Avogador of the Commune. In September, 1413, and in August, 1415, he served for a short time as Inquisitor of the Ten.[1]

The candidates for the vacant dignity had already been indicated by Mocenigo. They were no fewer than six: Marino Caravello, Procurator; the Chevalier Bembo; Antonio Contarini, Procurator; Leonardo Mocenigo, Procurator, the brother of Tommaso; Pietro Loredano, Procurator; and Francesco Foscari, the youngest of the number. Foscari was born in 1373, and was consequently fifty-one.

The Forty-one assembled on the 10th April. There was none of the competitors, to whom some exception was not taken. Caravello was superannuated.[2] Bembo limped in his gait, and was otherwise ill-qualified. Mocenigo was the brother of the late Most Serene Tommaso. Contarini had too many children. To Loredano it was not equally easy to raise a valid objection; Badoer, the friend of Foscari, however, brought forward the feeble plea, that his services as Captain-General were indispensable to the Republic, and that "he was young enough to wait!" This quibble was more than the hot-headed Admiral could bear. He started to his feet, and vindicated his claim with

[1] Berlan, *I Due Foscari*, 1852, p. 200–1.
[2] Sanudo (fol. 967).

a warmth which made his case only worse, to the inexpressible glee of Foscari!

The turn of Foscari, however, came next; and he was attacked by Pietro Orio, a supporter of Loredano. Orio declared, that the candidate for office was still young, had married a second time,[1] had a large and increasing family, his wife bringing him a child every year, and possessed a scanty fortune. At the same time, he reiterated the warning of Tommaso Mocenigo that, "if he was made Doge, Venice would be perpetually at war." On the other hand, he was defended by Bulgaro Vitturi, who denied that he was a poor man, as his estate was worth 150,000 ducats. Bernardo Pisani and Paolo Cornaro also spoke in his favour. Foscari himself made an able speech.

The Conclave sat five days. There were eight scrutinies. At the eighth Loredano still had the largest number of votes; there were only eleven for Foscari. The ninth examination of the ballot-box gave Foscari *seventeen*, but his opponent had even now slightly the advantage. A tenth was demanded; Foscari was announced to have *twenty-six;* and Loredano was beaten! This result was due to a well-played trick. The fact was that in order to throw

[1] His first wife was Maria, the daughter of Andrea Priuli Del Banco. By this lady—whom he married in 1395—he had had several sons, of whom only three survived, and five daughters, all of whom were married. His second nuptials were with Maria, the daughter of Bartolomeo Nani, in 1415. See Litta in voce *Foscari;* Berlan (*I Due Foscari*, p. 200); and P. Morosini (lib. xix. p. 404).

the supporters of Loredano out of their reckoning, a certain proportion of the opposite party forbore to declare themselves till the last moment, and that just when the chances appeared to be eminently favourable to Loredano, the nine voters in reserve recorded their suffrages, and thus procured a majority.

It was already late on the evening of the 15th April, when the College, after one of the most closely-contested elections which had ever been known, arrived at a decision; and the announcement was therefore deferred till the next day. The antient formula which came into fashion in 1173—*This is your Doge, if it be agreeable to you*—had remained in use down to the present date. But, in the course of the labours of the Correctors of the Ducal Promission, some one[1] remarked drily—"And if it should NOT be agreeable to them, what then?" The suggestion was forcible; the qualifying and subjunctive clause was omitted; and Albano Badoer, the eldest of the Forty-one, made known to the multitude congregated in Saint Mark's Church on the morning of the 16th April, the issue of their deliberations in the unconditional sentence—*This is your Doge!* The successful candidate, having made his entry on the same day into the Palace, harangued the assembly outside from one of the balconies in a well-worded speech; and at the close

[1] By Daru (ii. 317), the observation is attributed to Francesco della Sega, Grand Chancellor. The *Liber Ursus*, quoted by Sanudo (fol. 418), and by Romanin (iv. 97), shews that Sega did not become Chancellor till the 8th November, 1439!!

of the discourse his Serenity was greeted on all sides by cries of *Sia! Sia!* [1]

By such means, then, the political friends of the Procurator Foscari obtained his elevation to power; and under such circumstances it was that the old National Convention designated the *Arrengo* was not only virtually, but constitutionally and specifically abolished. On the 7th April, during the interregnum, the Correctors inserted in the Oath, submitted to their revision, a paragraph which declared: "all and every such resolutions as shall have been taken heretofore in the Great Council, in which it is found recited that they are put *in Arrengo*, likewise such as shall have been taken during this vacancy of the Crown, shall upon their adoption by the Great Council acquire the same force and validity as if they had been published in Arrengo." Farthermore, it was "added: these resolutions shall not again at any future time be published in Arrengo, and the Arrengo shall not be convoked, save at the election of our lord the Doge, when it shall be summoned, and the said election be promulgated according to practice!" [2]

The remaining innovations were of a less important and essential description.[3] They referred to the prompt and unbiassed dispensation of justice without respect of persons. They prescribed, that the Doge should be required to fund all his property with a reserve of 20,000 ducats' worth of silver plate, that his

[1] Sanudo (fol. 969): "Let it be so; let it be so."
[2] Romanin (iv. 97).
[3] Sanudo (fol. 968).

servants should receive at his expense two new liveries a year, and that the ceremony hitherto observed at Ducal obsequies of carrying the shield of Saint Mark reversed should be discontinued, "as derogatory to the Patron Evangelist!" A similar prohibition was extended to any object whatever, which bore his effigy.

The slightly morbid craving of the Venetian lower classes for pomp and pageantry was abundantly, and even cloyingly, gratified at the solemn investiture of Francesco Foscari and the triumphal progress to the Palace of his Dogaressa, the Lady Maria; and the organic and radical change, artfully wrought in the practice of the Ducal elections, was speedily committed to oblivion amid a splendid series of festivities. Like the public entertainments of 1401, the tournaments and other spectacles celebrated in 1423 spread, not undesignedly, over the greater part of a twelvemonth.

It is related of the illustrious Mocenigo as a characteristic trait, that, the Old Hall (Sala Vecchia) of the Great Council having been destroyed by fire at a season of financial embarrassment, and a decree having consequently passed that any one suggesting its restoration should incur a heavy penalty, the Doge paid the fine, and proposed the measure, which was carried.[1] The *Sala Nuova*, or the New Saloon, was now at length completed; and it was inaugurated on the 23rd April (1423[2]), when the Marquis of Mantua, having been introduced, was sworn a Venetian citizen,

[1] Sabellico (Dec. ii. lib. ix.) [2] Sanudo (fol. 968).

and took his seat on the benches. The House being counted, 911 members[1] were returned as present. A fresh acquisition of some consequence marked the commencement of the Foscari Administration. It was that of Thessalonica, or Saloniki, at one period the heritage of the House of Monte-ferrato. The inhabitants of Saloniki, dreading the vicinity of the Turks, who were occupying portions of Albania and the Morea, and were again threatening Constantinople, renounced their allegiance to their despot Andronicus Palæologus, brother of the Emperor Johannes, and offered their city and themselves to Venice. The proposal was accepted; but the step involved two disastrous consequences. The cession of Saloniki, on which the Sultan Amurath had been casting a longing eye, threw Venice into hostile collision with Turkey; and her ambassador, Nicolo Giorgio, who was sent to accommodate the matter, found himself the inmate of a dungeon. At the same time, the communication with the East brought the seeds of pestilence to the shores of the Adriatic, and the ravages of the epidemic swept away between 15,000 and 16,000 persons. The lesson, however, was not lost upon the Republic. To guard against a recurrence of such an evil, the Government of the Doge established at Santa Maria di Nazaret the famous Lazaretto or Pest-House; it was the first institution of the kind which had been seen in Europe. Some years later, the Board of Health, or *Magistrato alla Sanita*, which originated in 1459,

[1] Sanudo, *ubi suprâ.*

evinced still farther the anxiety of a highly civilized Power to protect that population, which it regarded as one of the sources of its industrial wealth, and to diminish by precautionary measures the periodical sacrifice of human life.

The acquisition of Saloniki was not diplomatically completed till the month of April, 1426.[1] The government was confided to two Proveditors, and Venetian courts of civil and criminal procedure were established. To mollify so far as possible the anger of Amurath, permission was given to his subjects to erect an independent tribunal, which might take cognizance of suits for debt and other pecuniary transactions among themselves; Turkish merchants and caravans were suffered to trade at the Port under the same conditions as heretofore; and the allowance of 10,000 *aspri* a year out of the Revenue, made by the late despot Palæologus to the Sultan, was not at present discontinued.

The accession of Francesco Foscari[2] naturally gave new hope to the Tuscans, whom the aggressive projects and unprincipled cupidity of the Duke of Milan were inspiring with the gravest inquietude. Surpassing in the magnitude of his schemes even his father the Count of Vertus, Filippo-Maria, having with the aid of Carmagnola made himself master of Genoa and Brescia, carried his arms into the Romagna, to which

[1] Romanin (*Stor. Doc.* iv. 100).

[2] A general account of the transactions of the Signory from 1423 to 1433 will be found in *Historia Veneta Secreta*, pp. 170-2 (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8580).

Giovanni-Galeazzo had never extended his conquests, and seized Imola and Faenza. The Florentines now conceived that they could no longer, consistently with their own safety, delay to draw the sword; on the 24th November, 1423, the Council of War (*Dieci della Balia*) was organized;[1] prompt measures were taken to obtain troops from the Riviera of Genoa and elsewhere; and Rinaldo degli Albizzi was despatched to Venice to beg that Government to reconsider its determination, and to make common cause with Tuscany. Admitted to the bar of the Senate, Albizzi represented[2] in fulfilment of his instructions that, the Duke being manifestly bent upon crushing the freedom of Florence, the latter had resolved to run the hazard of war in defence of Italy and for her own security. He besought the Republic to open her eyes, and, as the principal Power in the Peninsula, to co-operate in providing for the general safeguard. He pointed out, that the arms of Florence, properly seconded, could impose a curb on the ambition of Visconti. He exhorted the Signory at least to exhibit a favourable leaning to the just cause by closing against the Milanese the Passes of the Po; and the Ambassador concluded by declaring that his countrymen, rather than tolerate any longer the arrogance of the Duke, would call to their aid all the Powers of the world.

The answer of the Senate was delivered on the

[1] Della Robbia (*Vita di Bartolomeo Valori; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 277). Valori was one of the *Dieci*.

[2] Romanin (iv. 101).

13th May, 1424.[1] That Body "regrets profoundly the fresh disagreements which have arisen to disturb the peace of the Peninsula; on its part it desires nothing so ardently as repose, and in that interest the Republic has invariably exerted herself. There are excellent reasons which preclude Venice from acceding to the proposal for a League. In regard to the Passes of the Po, the Florentines ought to be aware that the Senate is in no position to close them; but the Republic is prepared to deny the Milanese any passage through Ferrara." "Besides" (continued the Senate), "such is the wisdom and dexterity of the Florentines, that it entertains no doubt that they will concert among themselves the measures most conducive to their welfare and greatness: to speak frankly, the Venetians, having failed in repeated efforts to make peace with the King of the Romans (Sigismund), have been under the necessity of contracting an offensive and defensive alliance with the Duke;[2] and the consequence is that if the King is invited (by Florence) into Italy, we are bound to unite against his Majesty with Filippo-Maria!"

This second rebuff was supremely vexatious and perplexing. But, whatever scruples the Florentines might have conceived on the score of prudence, they were conscious that they had now gone too far to draw back; Carlo Malatesta and his brother Pandolfo

[1] Romanin, *ubi suprâ.*

[2] In 1421, for ten years. *Vide suprâ*, and Bisticci (*Vita di Lorenzo Ridolfi; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 317-18).

were already in the Romagna with 10,000 men; and a collision with the Milanese under the redoubtable Carmagnola was almost daily to be expected. The only course which remained open was to seek other external support; and notwithstanding the implied menace of the Signory, letters were written to the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, and the Swiss, in a supplicatory tone. Sigismund, more particularly, was implored to hasten into Italy "to confound the enemies and rebels of his Crown, and to help his devoted servants."

Carmagnola and the two Malatesta encountered each other at Zagognara,[1] in the Faenzan territory, on the 27th July, 1424, and fortune was unkind to the Tuscans, who were deplorably beaten. In her despair, the discomfited Power made a fresh appeal to the Republic.[2] An embassy, consisting of Palla Strozzi and Giovanni de' Medici, the latter a member of the *Florentine Company* of Venice, waited on the Doge in the first week of October. But the attempt met with no better success than its predecessors; and although Foscari, from vanity, perhaps, as much as from conviction, was personally inclined to the course which he had advocated so warmly before his accession, the Senate and the Ten were equally averse from committing the country to a policy, of which they found themselves unable to foresee with sufficient clearness the bearings and issue. At this stage, the Holy See

[1] Paolo Morosini (lib. xix. p. 407).

[2] P. Morosini (*Memoria intorno alla Repubblica di Venezia*, xxii.)

having interposed, the Florentine ambassadors officially intimated to the Senate that it was the desire and aim of the Pontiff Martin to make peace between their Government and Filippo-Maria, and to frame a defensive alliance among the Italian States against the Emperor. The Senate replied:—"We rejoice to receive this intelligence. The Republic will be very glad to give her adhesion to any Confederacy of the kind indicated, and Cardinal Lando, our Ambassador at Rome, has been instructed to support the measure so far as lies in his power."[1] But the proposed Italian League with the Pope at its head eventually fell to the ground; and the Government of the Doge contented itself with sending Andrea Mocenigo to Milan in December (1424), to "pray" the Duke to refrain from molesting the Lord of Ferrara, whom the Venetians had taken under their protection. "Your Signory," drily but caustically observed Visconti to Mocenigo, "*prays* me indeed, but her prayers are ever commands!"[2]

A second reverse, which soon befel the Tuscans at Val di Lamona, slightly shook, however, the composure of the Republic; and on the 17th February, 1425, a secretary, Francesco della Sega, was ordered to set out for Milan, to endeavour to open some negotiation, and to lay before Visconti at the same time certain demands preferred by Venice on her own account. The Ducal Government "prayed" that the Lord of Ravenna, "whom it had taken under its protection,"

[1] Romanin (iv. 103). [2] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1086).

might be indemnified for the sacrifices to which he had been put during the last war; that the Venetian subjects at Casalmaggiore, Brescella, and Torricella might be left undisturbed; that the Genoese might not be debarred from remitting to the Signory the compensatory payments due for former losses; and that the tolls, illegally exacted from the Venetian citizen, Bettino da Uberti, by the Milan Custom-house, might be reimbursed. It was only five days after the delivery of his commission to Secretary Sega, that an unexpected occurrence gave a somewhat new turn and complexion to the question.

Francesco Bussone was a native of the small village of Carmagnola, in the district of Turin. He was born about 1390; his father was named Bartolomeo.[1] The race from which the boy sprang was extremely humble and obscure; the elder Bussone *is reported* to have been a poor rustic; and *it is said*, that in his younger days Francesco was accustomed to tend sheep. His military tastes and talents were developed, however, at a precocious age; and his crook was, at any rate, soon exchanged for a sword. His first patron was Facino Cane, one of the most powerful Princes in Italy, and the greatest general of his time. At the death of Cane, in 1412, Filippo-Maria Visconti, then in the beginning of his career and master of Pavia only, married his widow Beatrice Tenda, and extended his patronage to FRANCESCO DI CARMAGNOLA; upon this point the

[1] Francesco Berlan (*Il Conte Francesco di Carmagnola*, 1855, p. 9, *et seq.*)

destiny of Carmagnola and his employer equally turned; and the History of Lombardy may be read for some time in the Fasti of a Turinese hind. Having by a happy recognition of rare merit promoted the young soldier of Cane from the ranks to the head of his army, Filippo-Maria succeeded in the course of ten years not only in recovering, but in amplifying, the Dukedom of Milan; Carmagnola himself amassed a fortune of between 70,000 and 80,000 ducats, of which he had the prudence to invest 30,000 in the Venetian Funds;[1] his services were speedily requited with the Countship of Castelnuovo (1415) and with the hand of a daughter of the House of Visconti (1417[2]); and, that he might have a residence suitable to his position and dignity, he laid the foundations of the beautiful Palace of Broletto-Nuovo at Milan. In 1421 and 1422, the exploits of the hero culminated in the successive conquest of Brescia, Genoa, and Forli; and in the latter year he was made Governor of Genoa. Such was the rise of the son of the peasant Bartolomeo Bussone. In person, the Count of Castelnuovo was square-set, powerfully built, and robust; his frame was symmetrical; his complexion was ruddy; and his hair and eyes were of the same chesnut-brown tint.[3]

It was impossible, that so brilliant a reputation should long remain unenvied or unslandered. The Court of

[1] The requisite permission was only given on a second application by the special authority of the Great Council (May 21, 1421).

[2] Berlan, p. 9. [3] Ibid.

Milan was as rich as any other in mediocrity of talent, and Carmagnola counted numerous rivals who, enraged at finding themselves eclipsed and superseded by an alien interloper, breathed into the ear of Visconti suspicions of the ulterior plans of his favourite captain. The astrologers, a singularly powerful body in those days, were on their side; and the selfish pusillanimity of the Duke was not inaccessible to the whispers of calumny. Filippo-Maria became more and more distrustful of the Governor of Genoa, and he secretly meditated his ruin at the earliest opportunity. This change of feeling came to the knowledge of Carmagnola in due course, and he hastened from his seat of government to confront himself with his accusers, and to refute their paltry insinuations. The Duke, however, dreading the possibility that his intended victim might have penetrated his design, denied him an audience, and kept studiously out of his sight; and the injured man, quite aware of the easy doctrine of his employer on the removal of political obstacles, consulted his personal safety by a sudden and rapid flight from the capital. Milanese troopers were instantly put upon his track, but he outstripped all his pursuers, and reached without impediment the Savoyard frontier. The baffled Visconti vented his wrath by sequestrating all the property possessed by the fugitive within his reach, amounting to 40,000 ducats, and by committing his wife and children, who had been instructed to follow him, to close custody.

Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, received his distinguished

visitor with urbane kindness, and extended to him all the offices of hospitality. But he naturally shrank from acceding to the warlike projects against Milan which the General sketched out, and politely declined to become a tool in the hands of the Count of Castelnuovo for wreaking his vengeance on his enemies.

Carmagnola did not yet despond. He knew, that there was one Power greater than Milan and greater than Savoy, to which he might appeal with some prospect of success. In 1421, he had been permitted, as a high mark of favour, to invest a part of his fortune in the Venetian Chamber of Loans; those 30,000 ducats were now all that remained to him; and he determined, after the failure of his overtures to Amadeus, to repair to the Lagoon, and to offer his services to the Republic. The Count arrived at his new destination, accompanied by eighty men-at-arms, on the 23rd February, 1425, in the same week in which Secretary Sega had departed for Milan with his weighty budget of demands.

Among other personages of note who hastened to pay their respects to the noble stranger, was a certain Andrea Contarini, who appeared to throw himself a good deal in the way of Count Francesco, and to cultivate his acquaintance with an unusual degree of assiduity. To Contarini, in truth, the Government had secretly confided the task of sounding Carmagnola; and it was not the object of Carmagnola to be mysterious. The General unfolded his views frankly and without constraint; he disclosed many points of

Milanese policy not generally known, and he finished by conveying to his questioner a desire to be employed by the Signory. Contarini reported to the Government all the facts which he had collected; an audience of the Doge Foscari was arranged; and on the 2nd of March, a week only after his arrival, his services were secured at a liberal scale of remuneration, but without any specific commission. Until he was absolutely required to take command in the field, it was intimated to him that he might retire to Treviso, and there await orders.

It was during the stay of Carmagnola at Treviso, and in the month of August, 1425, that two persons, named Gherardo da Rubiera and Giovanni degli Aliprandi, were arrested by the Local Government, on suspicion of being concerned in an attempt upon his life.[1] It transpired in the confessions of Rubiera and Aliprandi under torture that they had been hired by Visconti for the express purpose of despatching the General by poison or otherwise, that they had several accomplices, and that it formed part of their plan to excite on the spot a spirit of disaffection to the Signory. The two principals were summarily executed; in regard to the treatment of their accessories, the Senate thought proper to lodge a discretionary power in the Podesta and Captain of Treviso, Nicolo Priuli. But, in a letter which was addressed to Priuli on the subject, that Body, earnestly solicitous to postpone any collision with Filippo-Maria, at all events

[1] Andreæ Billii *Historia*, lib. v.

until a better opportunity, added this passage: "You will be careful, in the legal documents and in the proceedings taken in connexion with the present affair, to avoid all personal allusion to the Duke, and we recommend you to state on paper simply that the intended assassins came from Milan!"

The mission of Francesco della Sega was, so far as the Florentines were concerned, entirely ineffectual. The Duke announced that, if he treated with Florence, it would be without the mediation of the Holy See, the Signory, or any third Power; nor had the subsequent embassy of Paolo Corraro a happier result. On the return of the latter, Lorenzo Ridolfi, the Tuscan ambassador, urged the Senate more warmly and importunately than ever to embrace the cause of his countrymen (May, 1425). But that circumspect and wary Assembly was still inclined to temporize. It alleged that, although Visconti had declined her intercession, he had expressed *the utmost reverence* for the Republic, and his readiness to reconsider the question. On such an errand Sega was once more employed; but the reverence of the Duke did not make itself particularly manifest, and the friendly offices of Venice remained unappreciated. Ridolfi and his colleague, Palla Strozzi, were in absolute despair; at the close of an audience, which had been accorded to them by the Senate, the latter[1] exclaimed, with passionate emotion: "My Lords of Venice, it appears to me that you wish to see Filippo King of Lombardy. If you make him

[1] Redusio de Quero, contemp., *Chronicon Tarvisinum*, 854 (Murat. xix.)

King, we, who have withstood his ambition hitherto, will make him Emperor! You shall judge!"

The pithy and sententious declaration of Strozzi, which in all probability had not been hastily uttered, slightly deranged the equanimity of the Signory. A little while afterward, a member of the Government took an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject. "The fact is," he was told, "our Navy is dispersed in sundry directions; the winter is at hand; and there are several reasons which render it undesirable to launch out into hostilities. But, at the same time, we beg you to accept an assurance, that Venice will never view with indifference or apathy any serious encroachment on Italian liberties!"

The sally of the Florentine Envoy was indeed a good deal more than a mere rhetorical common-place. The withdrawal of Carmagnola from the service of Filippo-Maria had not ameliorated the prospects of the other belligerent. The Tuscan arms were exposed to a series of humiliating reverses at the hands of the new lieutenants of Visconti, Nicolo Piccinino and Francesco Sforza; and the situation of Florence was becoming alarmingly critical. The triumphal progress of the Duke, with the occurrences at Treviso in the summer, which furnished an ample source of irritation, operated more potently than any other agency in persuading Venice to relent; and the consecutive defeats of the Florentines in the course of a single week (Oct. 9–17, 1425) at Anghiari and Faggiuolo, warned the Signory that the time was at hand for throwing

her own mighty sword into the scale against Visconti. This warlike tendency was strengthened and fostered by a voice from the throne. In the course of November, 1425, a spirited speech to the following effect was delivered in the Senate by the Doge Foscari:—

"Many resolutions have been proposed, Conscript Fathers, which, being of a contradictory kind, breed confusion, and tend to mislead our judgment. *Decipimur specie recti.* There are two things, which in this our Republic are thought exceedingly pleasant, but which nevertheless have involved States oftentimes in troubles: they are, peace and frugality. While men cling to repose too fondly, and shew themselves too greedy of gain, grave perils beset their path. Of this we have examples numerous enough in antient and in modern days. Have we not one under our own eyes? Behold the fate of the Florentines who, having neglected to bridle the power of Filippo-Maria, while it was still insignificant, are now in imminent danger of falling under a Milanese yoke! But what am I saying? Is it not our place to help the distressed and jeopardized Power? Shall we suffer Filippo to lay a finger on the liberties of Florence? *That insensate tyrant* (if he be not checked) will be pursuing his conquests unmolested, until he has overrun the whole Peninsula; and when he has got Florence, HE WILL ATTACK US NEXT.[1] That is the grand object of his machinations; that is his only thought. Therefore I

[1] See Bisticci (*Vita di L. Ridolfi; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 318).

have wondered much when I have heard it said, that it is not for us to interfere in this matter. Really, most excellent Fathers, I am of decided opinion that our interest and duty lie in that very direction; I am of opinion that the [*Venetian*] *Empire* ought not to remain a passive spectator of the present contest. I must remind you that the Florentines, though weakened indeed, are not so utterly exhausted that they cannot furnish their share of troops. By Carmagnola we have been assured that 'the power of the Duke is not so great as it is reputed to be;' and under such a leader who, even in our age so prolific in military talent, has no equal, we may sanguinely look for a prosperous result and for an extension of frontier. All these circumstances are calculated to induce us to engage in the war—a necessary war, I must call it—against the common foe who, contemning all laws, human and divine, appropriates, by fraudulent and nefarious arts, the possessions of his neighbours, and who is aspiring to the Italian throne. For such reasons, I repeat, let us undertake the struggle with good courage; and in crushing this enemy, let us secure for the Peninsula the blessing of tranquillity!"

The Ducal address, supported by more than collateral circumstance, influenced Venice in favour of the propositions brought by Ridolfi and Strozzi. On the 23rd November, the Senate decreed the acceptance of the League with Florence; and from that point the conduct of the whole affair, with the management of all details, was allowed to devolve on the Ten. The treaty

was signed on the 3rd December, and it was to have a duration of five years from this date.

The stipulations were—that each of the contracting parties shall send into the field 8,000 horse and 3,000 foot. 2. That a naval squadron for the protection of the Po shall be raised at the common expense. 3. That it shall be competent for the Republic to control absolutely the movements of the combined armies, *to conclude peace at her pleasure*, and to make any incidental arrangements which she thinks beneficial to the mutual interest. 4. That the conquests of the League in Tuscany and Romagna shall belong to Florence, those in Lombardy to Venice, and Lucca and Parma to Ferrara. 5. That Genoa shall be restored to independence. 6. That either party shall be at liberty to include in the present Treaty its allies and adherents, provided that they are Italian. 7. That the Confederacy shall be regarded as framed against Austria, Hungary, and Germany, or any other Power whom the Duke of Milan may enlist in his cause, and that the faculty of disposing of the Malatesta Estates, if that family espouse the side of Visconti, shall remain in the hands of the Venetians.

The Republic at once wrote to her ambassador at Rome, instructing him to use his best influence in procuring the cohesion of Martin V.; and overtures were addressed to Switzerland and Savoy for the purpose of creating a favourable diversion in that quarter. On the 21st December, the number of the Pregadi

was carried to 100;[1] and that Council was constituted a tribunal for the management of the War. On the 13th January, 1426, the Chevalier Bembo was named Captain of the Po; and on the 21st, the League was published. But it was not till the 19th February that the commission of Captain-General of all the Land-Forces was delivered to Francesco di Carmagnola.

On the first report of the existence of a Coalition, Filippo-Maria had despatched an ambassador, Franchino da Castiglione, to Venice to expostulate with that Government *in a friendly spirit;* and it happened, that Castiglione arrived on the same day, on which the important instrument was proclaimed (January 21). He intimated to the Signory, that his master had received the last news with a feeling of intense astonishment; he spoke of the excellent terms, on which the Venetians had always stood with the predecessors of Visconti; and he averred that the latter, having ever proved himself, and wishing to be still, "a dutiful son of the Republic," was quite at a loss to understand, how Venice could have been led to range herself among his enemies. To this flimsy protest a categorical answer was given. The Doge confessed, that the most affectionate relations had subsisted between his country and the Dukes of Milan; "and," he said, "it is on that very ground, that we have learned with peculiar pain the differences of Milan and Florence. We have, it is well known, spared no labour to re-establish peace. We have watched with patience and

[1] Navagiero (fol. 1087); Paolo Morosini (lib. xix. p. 412).

solicitude the efforts made by the Marquis of Ferrara and by the Florentine Ambassador at Milan toward the settlement of the difficulty; and we at length volunteered our own mediatorial offices. But every attempt has failed. Our pacific sentiments and desires have found no reciprocity on the part of the Duke. We deny that; by the proposed federation with Tuscany, the Republic violates the Treaty of 1421, or absolves Filippo-Maria from any obligations in respect to it. For that treaty aimed simply and purely at providing a common safeguard against the Emperor. Even granting it to be true, that the Republic has been guilty of such a breach of faith, the Duke ought to be reminded that he took the initiative by attacking the Malatesti, who are under our protection, and by contracting alliances with several States contrary to his engagements, thus in strictness nullifying the compact in question. Your master mentions guarantees! The best guarantee which Venice can have is *peace;* but that does not appear to be contemplated by the Duke!" "The truth is," concluded his Serenity, "that we have determined to adhere to the League for ten years. If Filippo-Maria choose even now to propose the mediation of Ferrara or Mantua, we are content: only, if Florence be attacked, we shall help her. On the other hand, should the Duke come to terms, he may join the League with us against other enemies, if he thinks proper to do so."

Nothing farther was heard of Castiglione; and it was suspected that the astrologers, who exerted a

tyrannical influence over the mind of Filippo-Maria, were persuading him that it would not, after all, be quite a hopeless task to grapple with these Venetians, whose aggrandizement in the last century at his father's expense and his own deeply rankled in his bosom.[1] "There was between the Duke and Venice," explicitly states the biographer of Acciaiuolo, "a natural hatred on account of his lands, which are occupied by the Republic." "Filippo," he adds, in another place, "refused an audience to the Venetian ambassador, because he detested the parade and circumlocution, which the Venetians employ, who are excessively ceremonious and verbose!"[2]

Carmagnola having been commissioned as Captain-General on the 19th February, 1426, Nicolo Contarini was sent to Florence to concert a plan of operations with the War Department (Dieci della Balia[3]) and hostilities were opened forthwith. At the end of the month, the Venetians and Tuscans entered the Milanese territory from opposite points; and on the 3rd March, the Allies, 7,000 or 8,000 strong, were in front of Brescia. The acquisition of the *Guelph* and other Quarters, into which the City was divided,[4] was achieved with comparative ease. By collusion between Carmagnola and the Avogadri and other Guelph families,[5] with whom he was intimate, the

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[1] Bisticci (*Vita di Agnolo Acciaiuolo*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 348).
[2] Bisticci, *ubi suprâ*.
[3] Navagiero (fol. 1087). Galibert, ch. vi.
[5] Sabellico (Dec. ii. lib. x.); Muratori (*Annali*, 1426).

gates were thrown open to the Confederates on the night[1] of the 7th; and the Milanese troops, who were few in number and ill-victualled, retired without opposition into the citadels. The latter, known as the *Castello Vecchio* and the *Castello Nuovo*, were situated on the brow of a hill commanding the City, with which they communicated by a high and massive wall running the whole length of the sloping elevation into the plain on which Brescia is built.[2] The bombardment of the Old and New Castles was an undertaking of a far more arduous kind; and the difficulties, with which it was fraught, allowed the generals of Filippo-Maria time to improve and increase their resources. On the other hand, the arrival of Nicolo da Tolentino, the Florentine commander, placed at the disposal of Carmagnola the talents of the most celebrated engineer of the day; and the siege was immediately formed. The enemy had not yet come up.

The Tusco-Venetian Alliance soon produced important results of a collateral kind. In May, 1426, a truce was negotiated by the Florentines between Venice and the Emperor, on condition that the Signory should lend maritime aid to Sigismund in his Turkish war; and in July following,[3] the Duke of Savoy, yielding to Venetian pressure, came to the resolution of acceding to the League, and was guaranteed in the possession of all the conquests hereafter to be made beyond the Ticino toward Piedmont and

[1] Andreæ Billii *Historia*, lib. v. [2] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)
[3] *Istorie di Firenze* (Murat. xix. 973).

the German Mountains, together with Asti, Tortona, Voghera, Vercelli, Novara, and Milan itself. Alessandria was likewise appointed to fall to the share of Amadeus, unless the Marquis of Monteferrato became, within a reasonable space of time, a member of the Coalition, in which case that City and its environs were to be allotted to the Marquis.

The execution of that clause of the Treaty of December last, which referred to Genoa, was confided to the author of the *Trevisan Chronicle*. It had been understood that Florence should arm, at her own cost, 1,600 horse and 2,000 foot in the cause of Genoese independence. "I was sent," Redusio himself tells us,[1] "to the Florentines in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and, among others, to Tommaso Campo-Fregoso, late Doge and Governor of the City, who was now Lord of Sarzana, and to Giovanni-Luigi da Fieschi, residing at Pontremolo, by both of whom I was warmly welcomed. Nevertheless, the Florentines did not perform their engagements."

One contingency, for which Venice provided in the December Treaty, was speedily realised. Carlo Malatesta elected in the new contest to take part with Filippo-Maria, whose generosity after the battle of San Egidio[2] in 1416 had completely captivated his heart; and in the early part of April he was consequently proscribed by the Hundred. On the 17th of

[1] Murat. (xix. 854).

[2] The picture on this subject by Paolo Uccello is well known. It may be seen in the National Gallery at London.

the month, Malatesta addressed an epistle to that Council, couched in terms of surprise and remonstrance, and demanding to know "whether the report which had reached his ears was correct?" The answer was prompt and pointed: it bore date the 19th April. "We have received your letter of the 17th," wrote the Hundred, "and we beg to inform you, that it is *quite* true that we have published such a proclamation as that to which you allude; and a copy is herewith inclosed to your Magnificence. It is equally true, that your magnificent progenitors have rendered to us the services which you specify, and many more indeed; and that is precisely the reason why we extended our friendship and kindness to your Magnificence and to your brothers, and why we made you our captain, pensioned you, and conferred citizenship upon you. But your Magnificence and your brothers, deviating from the path of your forefathers, and forgetful of benefits received, have leagued yourselves with our foes, and have paid no heed to our protests and remonstrances. Whether your conduct has been honourable and fair, we must leave you to judge. We, at any rate, considering the course which you have so unworthily pursued toward our Republic, have issued the present proscription; and what we have begun, we mean to carry through!"[1]

Meanwhile, the operations before Brescia were progressing favourably, though slowly. Under the superintendence of Tolentino, trenches and other siege

[1] Berlan (cap. 27).

works had been constructed on a large scale; both citadels were invested; and provisions were already running short in the garrison. In August, Carmagnola made himself master of the *Pile* Gate of the Old Castle, and a few weeks afterward, the *Garzetta* Gate, in the Borgo of San Alessandro,[1] fell into his hands. On the 16th September, the Proveditors, Pietro Loredano and Fantino Michieli, wrote to the Hundred from the Camp as follows:—"The troops of the Duke, to the number of 7,000, having presented themselves here and offered battle, the Venetians, with 5,000 horse and 1,000 foot, formed in excellent order, and came to an engagement with the enemy. The fighting lasted three hours, when the Milanese were compelled to retire with the provisions they had brought to relieve the fortresses; and the Venetians then entered the Old Castle. The New still holds out; but, with the Divine aid, we look for its speedy submission. The bombards are already planted against the walls."

The defenders of the New Castle, however, continued to make a resolute stand, until the pressure of hunger was no longer endurable. On the 10th November, the Milanese commander capitulated, subject to an understanding that, if relief arrived within ten days,[2] the instrument should be annulled; but the 20th came without bringing any reinforcement or hope; and on that day, therefore, the keys were delivered, and the confederates gained absolute possession of Brescia.

[1] Berlan (cap. 41).

[2] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)

At the same time, the Captain of the Po,[1] having, in pursuance of his instructions (May, 1426), ascended that river so far as Cremona, sailed into the Adda, took two forts along its banks, and penetrated to the very walls of Pavia, which he treated with insulting defiance. Filippo-Maria, exasperated to the highest pitch by the blow inflicted on his arms and fortunes, now had recourse to all sorts of expedients for weakening and distracting his new antagonist. At his instigation, the Hungarians created a diversion in the Frioul; and in July, the Republic was obliged to despatch a body of troops to that coast under the Proveditor Marco Miani. A wretch, named Arrigo di Brabante,[2] was employed by the Duke almost simultaneously to set fire to the Venetian Arsenal; but the iniquitous scheme was happily revealed prior to its execution, and the intended incendiary, sentenced to be quartered alive, died amid excruciating torments.

From an intelligible reluctance to augment the national burdens and to injure commercial interests, the Signory had paused, before she finally committed herself to war; but her policy was now thorough. On her own material resources she had reason to place the fullest reliance; and Carmagnola was honoured by the manifestation on her part of unbounded confidence in his integrity no less than in his genius. On the 7th May,[3] civic honours had been accorded to

[1] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.) [2] Sanudo (fol. 987).
[3] Ibid. (p. 433).

him, and the Great Council had enrolled him among its members. A few days later (May 11 [1]), the Senate signified to him its readiness to form a State for his family on which side of the Adda he might prefer, so soon as his efforts were crowned by victory. On the 28th of the same month, pacific overtures having been initiated by Filippo-Maria through two esquires of the body to Carmagnola, who had been taken prisoners,[2] the Signory declared that she was willing to intrust the negotiation to the Captain-General, "who could fight and treat at the same time;" and Carmagnola was "recommended" by his employers to treat with Filippo "in such honourable and dexterous manner as may seem to his Magnificence most meet."[3] But he was earnestly exhorted not to allow mere empty phrases to interfere with the active prosecution of the War.

Almost from the outset, to say the truth, the Count of Castelnuovo had rendered himself somewhat troublesome. So far back as the beginning of April, he begged leave, as a means of recruiting his health which was not particularly good, to quit the camp for a certain term, and to proceed to the Baths of Abano. The Hundred, having taken the opinion of the highest medical authorities at Venice and Padua,[4] offered no direct opposition to his wishes; but he was prayed not to absent himself at present, unless it was absolutely necessary, and the Council recommended him

[1] Romanin (iv. cap. 5).
[2] Berlan (cap. 41).
[3] Berlan (cap. 41).
[4] Ibid. (cap. 21).

to try an aperient. The hint was not appreciated; the visit to the Baths was paid; and the command-in-chief was provisionally conferred upon the Lord of Mantua. The request, to which the Government had thus yielded, was repeated, however, at intervals; and the Proveditors had the utmost difficulty in keeping him at his post. At length, in the middle of October,[1] while the conquest of Brescia was still imperfect, his importunacy was triumphant, and he started on a second trip: nor did he return till the 14th November, four days after the signature of the capitulating articles. The conduct of Carmagnola was fairly open to animadversion and blame. His employers had every reason to view such behaviour with displeasure; and he was scarcely entitled to complain, if it excited some slight degree of distrust.

The fall of Brescia on the 20th November, the threatening posture of Savoy, Switzerland, and Arragon,[2] and the undisguised tendency of many of the Lombard States to side with the victorious League, gravely puzzled Visconti. The cold season was now at hand, and it was tolerably certain that the activity of his opponents would be suspended during the winter. The Duke, who was bitterly disappointed by the rout before Brescia of the troops expressly summoned from the Romagna to its relief,[3] saw no alternative but to seize the present opportunity; and the Pontiff Martin, whom he had propitiated by the recent

[1] Berlan (cap. 45).

[2] Redusio (*Chronicon Tarvisinum*, 855).

[3] Ibid. (856).

cession of Forli and Imola to the Church, was easily persuaded to intercede for him with the Venetians. The Government of Foscari informed the Nuncio who was sent on this business to Venice, "that the Signory is far fonder of peace than of war, and that she accepts with pleasure the mediatorial offices of his Holiness." The initiative having been thus taken, and the Republic having an undoubted right, under the Treaty of December, 1425, to terminate hostilities at pleasure,[1] certain preliminaries were arranged; a safe-conduct was granted to the former ambassador Castiglione and two other plenipotentiaries deputed to represent the Duke; and after a delay, which the nature of the conditions makes intelligible, a treaty was signed between Milan and the League on the 30th December, in the antient monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore.[2] No conquests had hitherto been effected in the direction of Tuscany or Piedmont, and consequently neither Florence nor Savoy was a gainer in point of territory. But the latter acquired important commercial advantages in being placed on the same footing in the capital of the Republic with the German Guild:[3] while the Florentines were allowed to export English and French goods from Genoa in their own instead of in Genoese bottoms.[4] To Venice, Brescia and the Bresciano,[5] with Casalmaggiore, Valcamonica,

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[1] See also Navagiero (1093).
[2] Sanudo (p. 992).
[3] Romanin (iv. cap. v.)
[4] Napier (lib. i. c. 30)
[5] Andreæ Billii *Historia* (lib. v.); Leonardi Aretini *Suorum Temporum Commentarius* (Murat. xix. 934).

and a portion of the Cremonese,[1] were reluctantly surrendered. The fortress of Montecchio was transferred to Ferrara. The House of Malatesta was emancipated from its obligations to Visconti. The release of the wife and children of Carmagnola, and the restitution of his property, were guaranteed at Venetian dictation.[2] Several other points of minor consequence were adjusted.

The Brescians had no cause to regret their change of rulers. Their Constitution, which was assimilated, with some difference in the details, to that introduced into Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, Padua, and the other Provinces of the Terra-Ferma, was framed in a liberal spirit and on wisely moderate principles. The taxes underwent little or no alteration. The courts of law were improved;[3] and the administration of justice was rendered prompter and more effective. The acquisition, at the same time, was more advantageous to the Signory, in a financial point of view, than any other of her conquests, Padua not excepted: for, while the expenditure was calculated at 16,000 ducats a year only, the revenues of the Bresciano were found to reach[4] 75,500, a surplus thus remaining of nearly 60,000.

The first Podesta of Brescia was Fantino Dandolo, son of the Doge Andrea, and a man of equal piety

[1] Berlan (cap. 47).

[2] Poggio Bracciolini (*Historia*, lib. v.; Murat. xx. 353); Romanin, *ubi suprâ*.

[3] Sandi (*Storia Civile Veneziana*, lib. vii. c. 1).

[4] Sanudo (p. 965).

and erudition; and the appointment of Captain of the City was bestowed upon Nicolo Malipiero. The post of Castellan of one of the Citadels devolved upon the Author of the celebrated *Chronicle of Treviso*, a subject and tried servant of the Republic. "While the cession of the place (Brescia) was still pending," this writer observes,[1] "the Senate of Venice sent for me, Andrea Redusio of Quero, Citizen and Chancellor of the Commune of Treviso, and told me, that I must go as Castellan to Casale-Majus with a proper garrison; and my pay was to be 200 gold ducats a year. So I proceeded in compliance with this bidding; and I entered upon my duties on the 10th January, 1427."

It soon became convincingly apparent, that the new Treaty was no more than an armistice of the most ephemeral character; the lieutenants of the Duke in the Bresciano refused, for the most part, to fulfil the agreement by delivering the keys of the fortresses to the Venetian delegates; and so early as the 3rd February, 1427, the Captain-General was invited to repair to the capital, in order that he might assist the Government in laying down the plan of a fresh campaign. On the 24th March, the Countess Carmagnola-Visconti, who had been liberated in pursuance of one of the articles of December, joined her husband; and she experienced at the hands of the Signory a gorgeous reception. Neither trouble nor cost was spared in doing honour to that favoured individual, to whom a great people were content, so

[1] Murat. (xix. 858).

long as he was true to their interest and to his own, to commit their fortunes in trust; and under such auspices, while the personal prospects of Carmagnola became enviably brilliant, his employers were at liberty to promise themselves the realization of their proudest dreams.

The Florentine connexion had proved itself almost throughout of very little utility; and a portion only of the stipulated contingents had ever been forthcoming. The Tuscan Commonwealth speedily discovered, that it had committed itself to a contest, which was calculated to try severely its resources.[1] Although, at the moment when it embraced the Venetian alliance, the question of aggrandizement was kept quite out of sight by the more vital one of independent existence, a few months sufficed to change Florentine views; that Power began to think, that the results obtained hardly warranted an outlay of 2,500,000 florins, which it was alleged at least to have incurred;[2] and the Republic foresaw pretty clearly that, in the second stage of the struggle which was impending, she would be obliged to fight almost single-handed. Her levies and preparations were of commensurate magnitude. 36,000 men, of whom 8,000 only[3] were mercenaries, were received into her pay; and although 4,000,000 (duc.) had already been added to the National Debt since the beginning of the reign, Venice returned to the field with energy and cheerfulness. She had been the last to draw the sword; it now seemed probable

[1] Napier (iii. 87). [2] Ibid. [3] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)

that she would be the last to sheathe it; and the integrity of the Florentine Constitution was perhaps not the only problem, which was to be worked out by the sword of Carmagnola.

Their recent humiliation was not without the effect of stinging the pride of the Milanese aristocracy, and of awakening in their breast a powerful impulse of patriotism. The Duke was implored not to submit tamely to the dismemberment of his possessions in the loss of one of the most important dependencies of his Crown. The utmost devotion was manifested. As the price of a few privileges, *of a little liberty*, the Nobles of Milan declared themselves ready to make any sacrifices. Visconti acted in this instance with the egregious duplicity and falsehood which belonged to him. With outspread hands he received the contributions offered on all sides to his acceptance; and he dismissed the deluded petitioners for reform with professions, which were of the slightest possible value.

The first blow was struck by the Duke, whose troops under Nicolo Piccinino and Angelo della Pergola, after taking Torricelli in the Parmesan territory, and overrunning the Bresciano, formally assaulted Casalmaggiore. The Venetian Commandant, Fantino Pisani, defended his trust with great intrepidity, until succour, for which he had promptly applied to Venice, to the new Captain of the Po, Stefano Contarini, and to Carmagnola himself, could arrive. The naval forces of Filippo-Maria, which were stationed in the immediate

neighbourhood of Pavia under Eustachio Paccino, were vastly superior to those at the disposal of Contarini; they consisted of not fewer than one-and-forty sail; and the Captain validly pleaded his inability to respond to the appeal. The Captain-General, whose head-quarters were near Casalsecco, sent only lame and shallow excuses. The Hundred desired him, intreated him, to hasten to the relief of Pisani; but he did not stir an inch. On the 27th April, he wrote: "My horses are without forage, and I can do nothing." The answer of the Hundred was: "To raise your camp, change your positions, and plant yourself elsewhere, is not the work of a moment, and before you stand in need of it, the grass will have had time to grow!"[1] Next he was short of money, and begged a remittance; he was told, that the remittance was on its way. Still he did not move, and when an explanation was asked, he had the portentous effrontery to allege, "that he was too weak to hazard a rescue," although it was an ascertained fact that he had with him 16,000 cavalry.[2] Under these circumstances, Casalmaggiore succumbed on the 1st May, 1427. Piccinino and his colleague, emboldened by their success, pushed forward to Brescello, which had been already blockaded by Paccino.[3] Nevertheless, so soon as the distress of Brescello was made known to the Ducal Government, two men-of-war, from the poops of which were seen to float the united colours

[1] Berlan (cap. 48). [2] Ibid.

[3] Andreæ Billii *Historia*, lib. vi.

of Venice, Florence, and Savoy,[1] were despatched, until more effectual relief was at hand, to create a diversion, and, if it was found possible, to cover the place.

At the same time, explicit instructions were received by the Chevalier Bembo, commissioned, during the temporary absence of Contarini, as *Lieutenant of the Po*, to raise the blockade of Brescello on the river-side by bringing Paccino to action. Bembo, who had under him, inclusive of present reinforcements, between thirty and five-and-thirty vessels, mounting 10,000 men,[2] hastened accordingly to complete his dispositions; and his opponent, confident enough in his own strength, did not scruple to abandon Brescello for the purpose of courting the engagement.[3] It was also the object of Paccino, in shifting his ground so promptly, to take the enemy by surprise, and to manœuvre in such a manner as to envelop the opposed squadron. But he had to deal with a master-spirit;[4] Bembo was thoroughly cool and collected; and after a furious combat, the Milanese flotilla, though assisted by Piccinino who opened a heavy fire upon the Venetians from the shore, was repulsed with great slaughter and hopelessly scattered.[5] It was the 21st

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[1] Romanin (iv. cap. 5).

[2] Sabellico (Dec. ii. lib. x.); Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)

[3] Diedo, *ubi suprâ*.

[4] Andreæ Billii *Historia*, lib. vi.; Redusio, *Chronicon*, 859 (Murat xix.)

[5] Petrus Candidus Decembrius, *Vita di Nicolo Piccinino* (Murat. xx. 1055).

May, 1427.[1] Bembo, seeking to pursue his advantage, ascended the river, passed Brescello now partially relieved, pierced two consecutive lines of palisades drawn from bank to bank, and at length appeared in sight of Pavia. It was only the want of a proper force to effect a landing, which deterred the victor from carrying the terror of his arms into the antient capital of Lombardy.

Meanwhile, the Captain-General, yielding to the reiterated appeals of the Centumvirate, advanced at a leisurely pace against Piccinino with at least the ostensible design of completing the undertaking, to which Bembo had already contributed so important a share. But Carmagnola, even before he reached Gottelengo, fell, on Ascension-day,[2] into an ambuscade prepared by Piccinino, and did not extricate himself without incurring severe loss in horses. The Signory immediately wrote him a letter (June 20[3]), in which his exertions *were warmly applauded!* But no stress was laid on the late misadventure; and in compliance with his request, 1,000 ducats of gold were privately remitted to his Magnificence for distribution among such of his cavalry as had been dismounted, with a suggestion that "as compensation of this kind is not usual, you will deal out the money as if it came from your private purse, and will refrain from mentioning that it is given by the Republic." His

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 131); Billius and Sabellico, *locis suprâ citatis.*
[2] Berlan (cap. 49).
[3] Ibid.

Magnificence was urged once more, however, to disregard the hollow and deceitful proposals of Visconti and his creatures, to cross the Adda, and invade the Milanese.[1] He was begged, above everything, to beware of one Enrico de Colombiers, a renegade Savoyard, who was reported to be always at his elbow with some new programme, "and whose astuteness and cunning," said the Signory, "render him of as much use to his master the Duke as any 500 lances in his pay!"[2] This exhortation was not altogether lost upon Carmagnola; and having shifted his quarters, he found himself in the early days of July at Casalsecco itself. The enemy, under Piccinino and Francesco Sforza, were at no great distance; and a collision was therefore shortly to be expected. The Venetian position at Casalsecco was not intrenched; but it was protected by a ditch and by strong palings; and the military carts and waggons were drawn up in a line round the encampment, in the Roman fashion, as an additional defence.[3]

But the generalissimo, having perfunctorily executed the desire of the Republic, relapsed almost instantly into that languid indifference, which seemed to have become a part of his nature; and it was a sheer impossibility to rouse him to activity. He did not appear to be labouring under any illness. Of unjust or distrustful treatment he had not an atom of right to complain. For from the middle of May[4] the

[1] Berlan (cap. 50).
[2] Ibid. *ubi suprâ*.
[3] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)
[4] Berlan (cap. 48).

Proveditors had been under a strict injunction "to abstain from meddling unduly or unnecessarily with his Magnificence."

It was now the height of summer. The weather was exceedingly sultry, and in the open country the dust was blinding. It was hard to distinguish even near objects. On the 12th July,[1] the enemy seized the opportunity, crossed the moat, broke through the palisade and the line of waggons, and surprised the Camp. There was indescribable confusion. There was a rush to arms and to horse. Friends and foes were mistaken for each other. The General himself was pitched violently from his saddle, and was nearly killed. Gonzaga of Mantua, who was serving under him, was discovered in the midst of the Milanese; Sforza, misled by the whirlwind of dust ploughed up by the hoofs of the horses, plunged into the thick of the hostile encampment; and both had the narrowest escape from being made prisoners. Ultimately, the aggressors beat a retreat; and no advantage remained with either side. After this discreditable affair, the Captain-General, possibly a little ashamed of himself, shewed some symptoms of reviving energy. Taking advantage of the disunion understood to prevail in the Milanese camp, and of the valuable diversion created by other members of the League in the direction of Monteferrato, Savoy, and Switzerland,[2] Carmagnola proceeded to occupy Binate[3] and San

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 131). [2] Ibid. 132.
[3] Sabellico (Dec. ii. lib. x.)

Giovanni-a-Croce; and, finally, he recovered Casalmaggiore.

It soon appeared that Carmagnola had pledged himself, without consulting his employers, to restore the prisoners taken at Casalmaggiore. The Hundred pointed out to him, in their despatch, that the Venetians who had fallen into the hands of the Duke were still detained, and that his own should therefore have been kept back with a view to an exchange; "but," concluded the Council, "as you have made the engagement in our name, you must fulfil it." At the same time, he was emphatically urged not to relax in his efforts, to persevere in his enterprise, and to cross the Adda. Two Nobles of illustrious name, Leonardo Mocenigo and Fantino Michieli, were even appointed to wait upon his Magnificence, on the part of the Doge Foscari, to inculcate for the third or fourth time the importance "of doing something decisive, and at once:" while Giacomo Contarini was sent to Florence for the purpose of stimulating that Power to the prosecution of her plans for emancipating Genoa from Milanese thraldom. For it was the fear of Venice, that the maritime strength of her old rival might otherwise be reorganized by Visconti, and that the Republic might thus find it necessary to commence naval armaments upon a grand and costly scale at a moment when the monthly expenditure upon the Army alone was not less than 60,000 ducats.

The pace of operations remained, notwithstanding, dolefully languid; and about the middle of August the

posture of affairs was so stagnant, that several members of the Hundred openly complained from their seats of the miserable progress of the War, and suggested the propriety of intimating to his Magnificence in some stronger terms than heretofore the repeatedly declared wishes of the Signory. But the hope was not yet forsaken that affairs might soon improve, and the motion consequently dropped.[1] Toward the end of September, indeed, headquarters were shifted to the neighbourhood of the Lago d'Iseo, and siege was laid to Montechiaro. But no result of any consequence attended the change. At the same time, Carmagnola was not insensible to the ill-disguised sneers and disparaging strictures of those about him, more especially of the Proveditors of Brescia; the complaint and ridicule were too just not to be excessively galling; and in the beginning of October he addressed to the Doge a letter couchèd in the most indignant and resentful language. He denounced with bitter emphasis all meddlesome and self-sufficient civilians who, quitting their counting-house, came to teach war to "the Child of War;" and he threw out a hint of no ambiguous sort about unappreciated services and more discerning employers. The tone which he used excited some alarm. His genius was at present indispensable; his anger was not to be treated with levity; and, stifling its instinctive desire of counter-remonstrance, the Government acted upon the necessity of meeting the Condottiero in a conciliatory spirit. On the 6th

[1] Berlan (cap. 51).

of the month, the Noble Andrea Morosini was charged by the Doge to proceed with all possible despatch to headquarters, to intimate the sorrow of the Republic at the discord and bad feeling which seemed to reign in the Camp, to remind him that the mildness of Venetian institutions permitted a liberty of speech to which he was perhaps unaccustomed, to suggest that the idle rumours which were constantly circulating abroad ought to be beneath his notice, to afford the strongest assurance of unabated and cordial friendship, and to pray him to display the utmost activity in the execution of the high task confided to his talents. Morosini was farther instructed to reprimand the Proveditors at Brescia; and those indiscreet functionaries were accordingly summoned to his presence. "Have you," the Ducal Envoy inquired, "in public or otherwise, spoken disrespectfully of the Captain-General?" "If you have," he continued, "the Government greatly wonders that personages so wise should not have foreseen the pernicious operation of such a proceeding on the mind of his Magnificence. Even if you had perfect reason, you ought not to have done so. *For he has our State in his power.*"[1] It may be judged that the circumstances were deemed cogent, which persuaded the Doge to whisper into the ears even of his confidential Ministers a confession so startling, though partaking of the nature of a hyperbole.

Nevertheless, the animadversions of which he had

[1] Berlan (cap. 56).

become the object were not without the salutary effect of awakening Carmagnola from his lethargy; and, having left Montechiaro, which he had taken after a month's siege,[1] in his rear, he pushed forward[2] to Macalo,[3] near the Oglio, about seven miles from Cremona, and not more than three from the Milanese quarters. The voice of detraction and satire appeared to be now exercising an influence so long desired, by stimulating his Magnificence to increased exertions. By the suggestion of a doubt of his abilities, and even of his courage, his pride was wounded, and the inmost nature of the man was touched. His old spirit lived in him again. Upon his arrival at Macalo,[4] he hastened to reconnoitre positions, and to measure distances. He went over the ground with minute care, exhibiting an anxiety to make himself acquainted with every curve and slope; and the smallest details were not too small to receive his personal superintendence. It was clear that some great design was in his thoughts; and Venice had reason to believe that that turn in the war was at hand, of which she had been content hitherto, though not without a hard trial of patience and temper, to feed herself with the bare expectation.

The Milanese army had, down to the present time, suffered materially from the absence of a Captain-General; the divisions among its numerous leaders formed a source of weakness and confusion; and

[1] Redusio (*Chron. Tarv.*, 863). [2] Sabellico (Dec. ii. lib. x.)
[3] Known at a later period as *Maclodio*. [4] Redusio (Murat. xix. 863).

Filippo-Maria, observing how ill his affairs prospered, at length came to the resolution of conferring the post of Generalissimo on Carlo Malatesta.[1] The fame of the young Lord of Pesaro had been within the last few years tarnished by more than one military blunder, and he was naturally impatient to redeem his character by some striking and brilliant exploit. Malatesta possessed considerable abilities; but he was rash, and he was also unfortunate. The two forces were separated by a swamp, which was traversed by a narrow causeway; the country abounded in brakes and thickets. Malatesta, eager to engage his adversary, crossed the bog, and found himself in close contact with the Allies, who were drawn up in admirable order to receive him, and who did not give him time to commence the attack. It was the 11th October, 1427.[2] Carmagnola had made his dispositions with great care; he had directed Nicolo Tolentino, with 2,000 horse,[3] to plant himself behind some adjacent copses, and at the appointed signal to take the enemy in rear, while the main body assailed them in front. Malatesta fell into the snare prepared for him. He was unexpectedly hemmed in on both sides. The movements of his cavalry were cramped by the nature of the ground, on which they had incautiously allowed themselves to be forced; the feet of his horses became entangled in the underwood, and the bellies of the animals were stung by the nettles. The strength of the Allies lay in their

[1] Candidus Decembrius, *Vita di N. Piccinino* (Murat. xx. 1056).
[2] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 132). [3] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)

centre, and its onset was perfectly irresistible. Malatesta, whose impetuosity was threatened with a sadly disastrous issue, soon despaired of success, and yielded up his sword to Gonzaga of Mantua, his brother-in-law.[1] The day was lost to the Duke of Milan; 8,000 cuirassiers, all the baggage, and an immense booty were secured by Carmagnola[2] after the victory of Macalo.

This splendid achievement thoroughly retrieved the reputation of the Commander-in-Chief; and on the arrival of the news at Venice on the 16th,[3] a feeling of exuberant satisfaction was produced. A letter, superscribed by the Doge, was written to him on the following day, full of the warmest eulogy and the most flattering protestations. From a politic wish to convince him that old impressions were forgotten, the Signory lavished upon the hero the most elaborate compliments and the most munificent rewards. A house in the capital at San Eustachio, which Venetian gratitude had once awarded to Pandolfo Malatesta,[4] with the fief of Castenedolo in the Bresciano for himself and his heirs, was assigned to the successful General. Giorgio Cornaro and Santo Veniero were deputed to present to him the thanks of the Republic. He was exhorted to look upon Macalo as the first of a series of triumphs equally splendid and equally within his reach. The Hundred signified an opinion that

[1] Andreæ Billii *Historia* (lib. vi.)
[2] Poggio Bracciolini (*Historia Florentina*, lib. v.)
[3] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 997). [4] Berlan (cap. 58).

the moment had come for passing the Adda, and for putting an end to the War by a glorious victory and an honourable peace.[1]

There was a common feeling in Italy, that it was now quite open to Carmagnola, by bridging the Adda and marching rapidly on Milan, to shatter at a single blow the power of Filippo-Maria, and to hoist the Lion of Saint Mark upon the ramparts of his Capital. But his Magnificence, who did not conceive it to be his interest that the War should be so soon finished, or that his former employer should be totally crushed, had no intention of doing anything of the kind proposed; and instead of responding to the appeal of the Signory, he frittered away the remainder of the year in insignificant achievements, and then demanded permission to go to the Baths! The Proveditors, who were enjoined to divert him by all means from his purpose, had no light or enviable task; but for the moment their representations prevailed. Of these idle subterfuges the Republic was growing a little weary; and even if her suspicions of his good faith began just now to strengthen, it was hardly wonderful![2] For it was notorious that his opponents were no match for him, either in ability or in material strength; and the common supposition in the Milanese camp was that his inaction proceeded rather from a contemptuous confidence, than from any other motive.[3]

The Duke, however, had during some time been

[1] Berlan (cap. 59).
[2] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1092–3).
[3] Candido Decembrio (*Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1056).

seriously revolving in his mind the expediency of procuring at least a suspension of hostilities. The progress of his old Lieutenant, though to a certain extent neutralized by causes of which he was possibly not altogether ignorant, excited his fears, and rendered him anxious to witness the return of peace. With this object, his invaluable ally, the Pontiff Martin, was again required to furnish a proof of his love of concord and devotion to the House of Visconti; and so early as September, the Cardinal of Santa-Croce began to feel the temper of the Ducal Government.[1] The Battle of Macalo naturally gave a potent stimulus to such a movement; and after a delay, which partly arose from the presence of the plague of Venice, and partly from an accident which befel one of the Venetian ambassadors on the road,[2] a Congress met at Ferrara on the 3rd November. The grand obstacle to any settlement lay in the lofty pretensions of Venice.[3] In addition to Brescia and its territory already ceded, the Republic claimed the City and Province of Bergamo, Palazzolo, Martinengo, and Iseo! The Duke made a vigorous attempt to obtain a modification; but the Hundred, familiar with his embarrassed and helpless condition, shewed themselves inexorable; and it was only at the earnest desire of the Florentines that the immediate restoration of Genoa to freedom, on which

[1] Candido Decembrio, *Vita Philippi-Mariæ Vicecomitis* (Murat. xx. 991).

[2] *Letters of Palla Strozzi to the Dieci di Balia at Florence* (Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, ii. Documenti).

[3] *Letter of Strozzi* (Dec. 29, 1427), *loco citato*.

the Venetians had at first insisted, was waived.[1] Visconti neglected no expedient for improving his situation and for gaining time: for he was aware that the war had also reduced his opponents to serious financial straits; and Florence alone was represented to have spent 3,500,000 florins. He intrigued and dallied with Carmagnola. He adroitly detached Savoy from the League by marrying the daughter of Amadeus. The Congress was deluded and duped with propositions and counter-propositions, till the spring had fairly set in, and Venetian patience was utterly exhausted. The Signory then recommended Carmagnola to resume the offensive; but this mysterious trifler sent back word that his health was remarkably delicate, and that he wished to recruit his strength at the Baths! The Government replied: "We are really very much surprised at such a request on the part of your Magnificence at this season of the year, when it has become of such consequence to take the field;" but, nevertheless, Pietro Loredano, the bearer of the answer, was secretly instructed to yield, if the General insisted, and to assume the Command-in-Chief during his absence. On the 13th March, the Count duly made his appearance, and was received by the Doge and the other members of the Executive with ceremonious pomp. After a short stay in the capital, and a few conferences with the Signory, he left for Abano. But the commission of Vice-Captain-General, given to Loredano (February 23) who had earned a classic reputation

[1] *Strozzi's Letters* (January 6 and April 5, 1428).

by his feats of arms at Motta and Gallipoli, afforded a convincing proof that, whatever might be the cost, the Republic was prepared to maintain an uncompromising struggle; and, after a painful conflict with his pride and ambition, the Duke elected to acquiesce in the terms dictated by Venice. On this basis, peace was signed on the 19th April, 1428; and it was published on the 16th of the following month.[1] The enormous aggrandizement, which the new Treaty brought to the Signory, powerfully contrasted with the meagre advantages derived by Florence. A clause, seeming to bear a covert meaning, but partly declaratory, was inserted at the desire of the Venetians, by which the House of Malatesta was withdrawn from Milanese jurisdiction or protection; both the contracting parties pledged themselves to abstain from interference in the affairs of Romagna, Bologna, and Tuscany; a few minor points were submitted to Papal arbitration; and fresh guarantees were exacted by Venice in favour of the undeserving, but indispensable Carmagnola.[2]

Bergamo, after much demur, was consigned to the Venetian Proveditors on the 8th May. The Duke announced at the last moment that he would rather give up Cremona; but the Signory declined to make the exchange. The government of the new district differed in some respects from that established in the other dominions of Venice on the mainland; and the

[1] *Istorie di Firenze*, 973 (Murat. xix.)

[2] *Letter of Palla Strozzi to his Government* (Florence), March 10, 1428 (Cavalcanti, *Documenti*).

citizens and provincial population had the best reason to congratulate themselves on their transfer from the atrocious despotism of Visconti to the more enlightened institutions of the Republic. At the head of the administration, as elsewhere, was a Podesta, who held office for a year, and who, upon entering on his functions, swore before the Arts, representatives of the people, to observe the laws and the privileges of the municipality, and to rule uprightly and impartially. The popular representatives composed the lower House of Parliament; the Upper House consisted of the Nobles; and it was called *the Great Council.*[1] Every year in December, this assembly, in concert with the Podesta, chose out of its own ranks a body of seventy-two persons, who were denominated *the Antients*, and of whom a conclave of twelve sat once a week in bi-monthly rotation, to represent and watch the Communal interests. At these conclaves the Podesta was entitled to preside. The Bench formed in itself a separate and distinct jurisdiction, termed the College of Judges; and it was before this tribunal that all appeals were brought, as well as pleas and criminal informations. The balance of revenue and expenditure in Bergamo and the Bergamasque yielded a yearly surplus of 16,000 ducats. The income was 25,500: while the expenses of administration did not exceed 9,500.[2] The first Podesta was Leonardo Giustiniani;[3]

[1] Sandi (lib. vii. cap. 1); Romanin (iv. 227).
[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, 963).
[3] Sandi, *ubi suprâ*; Diedo (*Storia*, lib. ix.)

a nobleman of antient family, and an ornament of contemporary literature. He was one of the sons of Bernardo Giustiniani, an early Venetian historian. Visconti cordially hated him. "That fellow," the Duke used to say, "has made more war upon me with his head than any 10,000 horse of the Signory;" and Pietro Avogadro of Brescia once observed: "If the Signory had such a man in her other cities, all Lombardy might soon be hers!"[1]

The Republic had emerged with glory and advantage from her contest against the Duke of Milan; and she was now left in the enjoyment of repose. The ambition and cupidity of Turkey kept her cruisers constantly on the alert, and exposed her trade to heavy losses at intervals; but there was no European Power with whom she was actually at war; and she was at last in a position to lay down her arms, and to bestow closer attention on her commercial interests. Venice was thankful for this rest, even if it was not to be a very lengthened one; she was glad to be spared for a moment the costly *necessity of conquering*. For, in the present state of Italy, no combination was apparently possible, which could withstand the genius of Carmagnola, seconded by the prudence of the Republic, her heroism, and her gold.

In the revolutionary annals of the Peninsula, few more remarkable episodes are to be found than the vicissitudes of Bologna. Originally governed by its own Dukes, that City hastened, at the era of the Lom-

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 1002).

bard League, to embrace republican institutions; and in the following century, it found itself engaged in a losing contest with the Venetians on the question of the Gulf-Dues. In 1402, after several revolutions, the Bolognese were incorporated with the Dukedom of Milan. After the death of Giovanni-Galeazzo Visconti, they became the subjects of the Church, and tolerated the odious tyranny of the Pope till 1411, when they rebelled against his government, and returned to a short enjoyment of freedom. In 1412, by the connivance of some of the Nobles, the Pontifical yoke was riveted with stronger links to their necks; and between that and the present time, although several violent and convulsive changes were wrought in the Bolognese Constitution, the Commune groaned, for the most part, under Papal aggression.

At length, on the 1st August, 1428,[1] the cry of *Long live the Arts and Liberty!* which had not been heard since 1411, rose once more in the streets; a large number of Nobles assembled on the Piazza; the doors of the Palace were wrenched from their hinges; the Cardinal-Legate was obliged to flee; and the old Constitution, with its Standard-Bearer and its *Council of Antients*, was triumphantly proclaimed. The Holy See, however, was too fond of its temporalities to surrender tamely so important a possession. It was known that the Legate was already engaged in collecting a powerful force to assert the authority of his

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 6-134); Pugliola, *Cronica di Bologna* (Murat. xviii.)

master; from the vengeance of such a Government everything was to be dreaded; and the Antients, alarmed by the prospect of a bloody retribution and aggravated servitude, sought the offices of the Signory as an intercessor, determining, if that expedient failed, to implore her mighty protection.

The answer of the Senate to the Envoys of the distressed Commune was delivered on the 27th August; it was as follows:[1]—"The Republic has always valued the friendship of the Bolognese, and has wished them well. They may rely upon the exertion of her utmost influence with the Apostolic See; but she is precluded by recent treaties[2] from direct or active interference. At the same time, we pray that the Bolognese Condottiero Sanseverino, whose services she has engaged, and who has been paid in advance, may be desired to proceed to his destination without delay."

But the situation of Bologna grew from day to day more critical. Menaced by the troops of Lucca and Rome, the City renewed its appeal to the Venetians, and volunteered to place itself entirely at their disposal; but the opinion of the Senate underwent no change: that Body contented itself with reiterating its previous declaration, accompanied by an expression "of sorrow for the dilemma in which the Bolognese were placed." Apart from other motives, the behaviour of the Duke of Milan rendered Venice reluctant to take

[1] Romanin (iv. cap. 5).

[2] *Letters of Palla Strozzi, No.* 22 (*April* 3, 1428).

any course, which was apt to involve her in a serious dispute with Martin V.

Before any considerable interval had elapsed, the provisions of the Treaty of 1428 were grossly infringed by attacks on the princes, of whose estates that compact expressly guaranteed the integrity and freedom from spoliation.[1] On the 25th October, 1428, Giorgio Cornaro was sent to Milan to lay these grounds of complaint before Filippo-Maria. But no satisfaction was afforded; and on the 12th of the following January (1429[2]) the Signory wrote to Fantino Dandolo, her ambassador at Florence: "Filippo continues to be quite the same as ever, molesting the Fregosi (of Genoa) and their Allies, the Marquis of Monteferrato, (Orlando) Pallavicini, the sons of (Filippo) Arcelli, fortifying boundaries and collecting troops; and therefore the League must be persevered in."

Two days before (January 10), a letter had arrived from Carmagnola, in which he tendered his resignation of the post of Captain-General: it was not accepted. His employers, however, knowing the desire of the Duke to regain his former lieutenant, resolved to thwart the intrigue, which was more than suspected to be in progress, by outbidding him; and, in the middle of February, a fresh arrangement was concluded with the Generalissimo, framed on a scale of unprecedented liberality. The supreme and exclusive command of all the armies of the Republic in Lombardy was con-

[1] *Letters of Palla Strozzi, No.* 21 (*March* 23, 1428).
[2] Romanin (iv. 135, *note*).

ferred upon the Count. It was agreed that, whether Venice went to war or remained at peace, he should be paid at the uniform rate of 1,000 ducats a month; and during actual hostilities, all ransoms and other prize-money, to whatever amount, were to be allotted to him.

The anxiety of the Signory to secure the services of Carmagnola, even at so dear a rate, soon became intelligible enough. The Milanese difficulty was acquiring from day to day additional complication. The Florentines, emboldened by the unwarlike character of Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, whose patrimony had at one time formed part of their own dominions, declared war against that State in the course of December, 1429;[1] and the victims of this unprincipled aggression, having first made a manful stand against the invaders, followed the example set by Bologna, and sought to throw themselves into the arms of Venice.[2] To the present offer an objection existed in the eyes of the Senate analogous to that raised against its predecessor; and that august Body returned a substantially similar reply. It thanked Lucca and her Lord for the flattering proposal, and regretted that the alliance between Florence and the Republic was of such a nature as to preclude acceptance.[3] The Treaty of 1428 equally debarred the

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 138).

[2] Instructions given to the Sienese Ambassador at Florence, Dec. 6 (1429); Commission of the Sienese Ambassador sent to Venice, Dec. 24, (Cavalcanti, ii. *Documenti*).

[3] Romanin (iv. 136-7).

Duke of Milan from meddling in the affairs of Tuscany; but that prince, who contemplated a rich prize in the perspective, derided all delicate scruples. Filippo-Maria was not one, who allowed the most sacred and solemn engagements to weigh a feather in the balance against his blind cupidity: his powerful assistance was lent to Lucca, and the sword of his general, Francesco Sforza, speedily turned the scale. The Lucchese beheld themselves liberated for a moment from their ambitious neighbours;[1] but they were by no means out of danger.[2] Florence, having been a slight gainer from the Venetian alliance, appeared to be possessed by a resolution to conquer something for herself; and, on the other hand, the appetite of Visconti for dominion was already whetted. The countrymen of Guinigi thus stood between two formidable enemies. Their sole hope lay in the renewal of the War between the Duke and the League; and for such a hope there was only too good a foundation. At the same time, the unequal contest which the Florentines were maintaining with Lucca, was not without the effect of kindling a strong spirit of animosity against the former throughout Tuscany, especially at Siena; and in the instructions[3] given to its ambassador at Perugia, that Government was singularly blunt and outspoken. "It is very clear to us," were its words, "that the Florentines meditate by some means or other to absorb this poor Tuscan soil,

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 139–40–1).
[2] Cavalcanti (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xi.)
[3] Ibid. (*Documenti*).

and to swallow up all their neighbours!" Even some Venetian statesman, addressing the Florentine Envoy, had been heard to exclaim in a moment of excitement: "You Florentines want your own Pope; you want your own Council; you want Lucca; the whole world would not satisfy you!" But the Sienese were hardly less bitter against Venice herself. "It is necessary for us," they wrote to the Perugians, "to look after our own interests: for it is tolerably manifest that the Venetians do not care much what becomes of us, and would tacitly permit our spoliation!"[1]

The path of the Republic, however, was beset by two impediments of no ordinary kind: the faithless variability of the Duke, who secretly exulted at the idea of being able to beat the Venetians, while the affairs of Lucca were engrossing the attention of their Allies,[2] and the collusive inaction of Carmagnola. The dishonesty of the latter was becoming more and more palpable daily: yet the Signory, furnished with no convicting proofs, was reluctant to compromise the Count and herself by a hasty step; and not a breath of suspicion was allowed to transpire. In July, 1429, his Magnificence incidentally remarked, in a letter to the Government: "Filippo has indirectly intimated to me that I am mistrusted and watched." In reply, the Senate said: "We are excessively surprised at any such insinuation, since we have furnished no motive whatever for any notion of the kind; and we

[1] Cavalcanti (*Documenti, ubi suprâ*).

[2] Cavalcanti (lib. xi. c. 2).

exhort you once more to beware of the plausible and mendacious character of Filippo, and ever 'to go buckler on arm.'" Still the General persisted in corresponding with the Duke; and the Duke stated that he was prepared to leave everything in respect to a negotiation to Carmagnola, "in whose judgment I have implicit confidence."

During all this time, Visconti was not ceasing to display his thorough contempt for the Treaty of 1428 in every possible way. Those articles, which acknowledged the title of the League to take under its protection the Marquis of Monteferrato, Orlando Palavicini, the Arcelli, and several other princes, were unblushingly set at nought. The Venetian possessions in the Veronese and Bresciano were occupied by Piccinino. The custom's tariff on the Po was altered and augmented in the most outrageous manner.[1] Every opportunity was seized of embittering and annoying the Republic. Her motives were misconstrued; her acts were distorted; her couriers were arrested by the Milanese authorities without a shadow of reason or right. No contrivance was omitted for exhausting the forbearance of Venice, and drawing her into war.

In January, 1430, Andrea Contarini had been sent to Milan to make a final effort in the direction of peace. In one of his earliest despatches to his Government, Contarini stated: "Between the copy of the protocol delivered to me by the Ducal Chan-

[1] Cavalcanti (*Istorie*, lib. xi.)

cellor and the original, I have discovered that important discrepancies exist, and *both differ* from the oral declaration of the Milanese ambassadors."[1] In the event of the failure of other expedients, the Venetian Envoy was authorized to announce that his country, in its unwillingness to disturb the harmony of relations, did not object to accept even the Pontiff himself (the particular ally of Filippo) as an umpire in the question of the territory unfairly occupied by Milanese troops, and would abide religiously by the award of his Holiness. This concession was to be the ultimatum; and, the Duke failing to respond to it, Contarini, in obedience to his instructions, took his leave. War was now the alternative.

On the 17th August, Carmagnola was summoned to the Capital to concert arrangements for resuming the offensive as soon as possible. The Republic had been availing herself of the temporary suspension of arms to recruit her finances, which had necessarily suffered from an extraordinary monthly expenditure of 60,000 or 70,000 ducats;[2] and it was her present determination to return to the struggle in earnest.

Pietro Loredano was again named Captain-General of the Forces on the Sea, consisting of two-and-twenty sail,[3] and Stefano Contarini had the first offer of the Captaincy of the Po, where a new fleet, organized at an outlay of 300,000 ducats or upward, was in course of being launched. But Contarini, who had been

[1] Romanin (iv. lib. v.) [2] Sanudo (*Vite*, p. 1015).
[3] Navagiero (*Storia*, p. 1096).

badly wounded in the last war, excused himself, and the appointment was given to Nicolo Trevisano. The flotilla on the Po was composed of thirty-seven galleys and forty-eight smaller craft,[1] mounting 10,000 men, exclusively of rowers. In order to isolate the Duke, and to simplify the contest, Marco Zeno was accredited to the Court of Turin, to detail the reasons which had led to a revival of the quarrel, and to solicit the neutrality of Amadeus; and on the 23rd February, 1431, directions were transmitted to the Captain-General to negotiate the cession of the Valtelline. As the reward of victory, an entire City was promised to Carmagnola (September 1, 1430);[2] while the importance was inculcated upon him more forcibly and emphatically than ever of spurning all insidious overtures and of declining to receive any more Milanese emissaries. "If the Duke," the Senate told him, "has anything to say, we shall be glad enough to listen; but his course will be to put it in writing, and to forward it for our consideration."

[1] Sanudo and Diedo (lib. x.)
[2] Romanin (iv. lib. v.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1431–1441.

Story of Francesco Carmagnola—His Treachery, his Arrest, and his Execution (May, 1432)—Favourable Results of the Change in the Pontifical Government (1431)—Peace between Venice and Milan (1433)—Story of Giorgio Cornaro—The Doge Foscari tenders his Resignation, which is not Accepted (1433)—The Republic Supports Eugenius IV.—Cosimo de' Medici at Venice—Source of the Venetian Power—Venice addresses a Protest to Europe against the Patriarch of Aquileia—Fourth War against Visconti (1434)—Fall of the Last of the Carrara (1435)—Investiture of the Doge with the Provinces of Terra-Ferma (1437)—Difficult Situation of the Republic—Mantuan Duplicity Chastized—The Retreat of Gattamelata—Story of the Siege and Defence of Brescia—Francesco Sforza becomes Captain-General of the Venetian Forces (1439)—His Successes (1440)—Peace of 1441—Its Advantageous Character—Marriage of Jacopo Foscari, the Doge's Son, with Lucrezia Contarini (January, 1441)—The January Fêtes—Marriage of Sforza with Bianca Visconti—Venice acquires Riva di Lago, Lonato, Valleggio, Asola, and Peschiera—Embodiment of Ravenna and the Ravennate with the Venetian Dominions, and Extinction of the House of Polenta (1441)—Festivities at Venice on the Return of Peace—Sforza and his Bride are Invited to the Capital.

True to her maxims, to her professions, and to her real interests, the Republic had hitherto earnestly laboured to induce Filippo-Maria to respect the Treaty of Ferrara. The neglect and consequent damage which trade had suffered during the protracted struggle against the Duke of Milan, and the desolating inroads of the Turks on her establishments both in Europe and Asia, in defiance of the most elaborate and costly

precautions,[1] rendered her rulers strongly desirous of procuring as long a respite as possible from Italian Wars. It was not more than eight years since the Doge Mocenigo had foretold on his death-bed that, if his country adopted an aggressive policy, that commerce, which he likened to a garden bringing forth spontaneous fruits, would decline, "and she would place herself at the mercy of a soldiery." These words seemed to be speedily approaching fulfilment. The destinies of Venice were for good or for evil all but in the hands of one whose father was a poor shepherd and an ignorant villager, and who himself was reputed to have begun life as a herd-boy.

But, all their efforts in the direction of peace having failed, the Venetians prepared to resume the offensive with the utmost vigour and promptitude, and to place at the disposal of Carmagnola such resources as might insure an honourable and glorious termination of the contest. Twelve thousand four hundred and fifty-four[2] men were now under the Generalissimo in the field, and ten thousand were on the Po under Trevisano. To these forces the army of Piccinino and Sforza, with the Squadron of Paccino and his colleague, Giovanni Grimaldi, was fully equal in point of number and discipline. In the present struggle Pisa, Volterra, Siena, Lucca, Genoa, and Piombino, favoured the Duke; while the exertions of the League were seconded more or less powerfully, and more or less heartily, by Mantua, Ferrara, Monteferrato, the Palavicini, and the Arcelli.

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1008). [2] Ibid. (1015–16).

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There was an event of recent occurrence which gave peculiar courage to the Venetians. It was the decease, quite in the beginning[1] of 1431, of Martin V., the ally of the House of Visconti, and the succession of a Venetian, the Cardinal Gabriello Condolmiero, to the Papal Chair under the appellation of Eugenius IV. The moral weight, which the support and good will of the Head of the Church lent to the cause of his countrymen, was highly valuable and highly opportune, and it afforded corresponding gratification. "On the 7th March," writes Sanudo,[2] "three couriers arrived one after the other, bringing letters from Rome to state how the Cardinals in conclave have created as Supreme Pontiff a Venetian Cardinal, called Messer Gabriello Condolmiero. So, in the course of eight-and-twenty years, there have been three Venetian Popes—Pope Gregory, of the House of Corraro, Pope Alexander, a Minorite of Candia, and this one of the House of Condolmiero. . . . On the 9th, the Pregadi resolved that eight solemn ambassadors shall be sent to offer the congratulations of the Signory, who may be furnished with one mantle of crimson velvet bordered with miniver a-piece, and among them may have one hundred and twenty horses."

Still, success depended largely upon the behaviour of Carmagnola, and it remained at present to see, how far the latitude and indulgence given to that capricious and self-willed adventurer would have the desired effect of imparting a healthy stimulus to his zeal.

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 142). [2] *Vite*, p. 1012.

It was to little purpose, however, that Venice had striven to secure by concessions a change for the better in the General-in-Chief. The misconduct of the Count became as outrageous as before, and his neglect as glaring; the Senate is soon found employing again the language of expostulation; and we must listen to the same remonstrances and intreaties on the part of his employers, with the same evasive responses on the part of Carmagnola. "The Emperor is coming into Italy," he announced to the Government in the first week of June (1431), "and had I not better break up the Camp?"[1] "Have no fear," answered the Senate (June 13), "the Emperor is in Germany, where the Hussites are affording him plenty to do. If you have heard otherwise, believe that it is a false rumour merely; and be assured that on the unceasing watchfulness of this Government you may always rely!" Besides the cost of preparations, the current expenditure upon the Army was enormous; the terms granted to the Count were so ample, that they created universal astonishment; and the results realised had absolutely amounted to nothing. In an endeavour to surprise Soncino, Carmagnola was sharply repulsed. An attempt against Lodi was a dismal failure. Yet, as it appeared, by the report of the Podesta of Brescia, that in the latter case the Count was not altogether in fault, the Senate wrote to him, warmly eulogizing his zeal, and wishing him and the Republic happier fortune next time. But the next enterprise directed against Cremona by

[1] Romanin (iv. 142).

Cavalcabo, one of his subordinates, miscarried purely in consequence of the disgraceful remissness of the generalissimo. The Senate observed silence; but its indignation was bitter and deep. Toward the close of May, 1431, the Milanese Commanders on the Po, Eustachio Paccino of Pavia and Giovanni Grimaldi of Genoa, forced Nicolo Trevisano to a battle at a point on the river about three miles from Cremona. The action, which lasted with intermissions two whole days (May 22–23), is described by an eye-witness[1] as one of the most terrible and bloody ever fought in that locality. Trevisano made an heroic defence. But the enemy, though not superior in number, were superior in position. The army under Piccinino and Sforza lined the banks, and importantly aided the movements of Paccino and his colleague. Trevisano sent letter after letter to the Captain-General, beseeching him to come up and create a diversion;[2] but Carmagnola alleged, "that he was afraid to leave the Camp," and bantered Trevisano on his "pusillanimity." The consequence was that the latter, unable to make head against two overwhelming forces, was literally crushed.[3] The Captain of the Po and his fellow-officers were, for this supposed misconduct, arrested and imprisoned. In one of his despatches to the Government, the Count exonerated himself from any charge of negligence. The Senate replied: "We are

[1] Pugliola, *Cronica di Bologna* (Murat. xviii.)

[2] Muratori (*Annali* ix. 145).

[3] Candido (*Vita di Piccinino*, 1060); Cagnola (*Stor. di Milano*, 40–1). P. Morosini (lib. xix.)

quite persuaded of your innocence, knowing well with whom the blame rests;" and that Body took the opportunity to repeat its former exhortations (June 28–30, 1431).[1]

The Commander-in-Chief, however, with strange and deplorable fatuity, still remained motionless. June, July, August, September, passed away; and no news of consequence came from the Camp. But the arrival of letters from the Mediterranean, announcing a great naval victory at Rapallo over the Genoese by the illustrious Loredano (August 27), brought a little comfort to the Republic.[2]

At length, on the 13th October, a member of the Senate rose from his seat, and proposed, "As we cannot continue any longer in this course of fruitless exertion and expense,[3] that steps be taken forthwith for treating secretly of the 'Carmagnola' affair;" but on a counter proposition from another Senator, Troilo Marcello, "that all deliberation on this point be deferred," the first motion was negatived. On the 2nd November, it was decided that the effect should be tried of removing the Count so far as possible beyond the range of improper influences by employing him provisionally in the Frioul, where the Emperor Sigismund, at the instigation of Visconti, was again seeking to create a military diversion.

[1] Romanin (iv. 144).

[2] *Letter of Loredano to the Doge* (Murat. xxii. 1024–5); *and of Giorgio Dolfino at Venice to his brother Giovanni at Treviso* (Sept. 5); Murat. xxii. 1019–21–22.

[3] Romanin (iv. 145–6).

Apposite instructions were forwarded to Carmagnola. The General, instead of yielding compliance, wrote back: "*Another messenger from Filippo has just made his appearance*, bringing assurances of the goodwill and integrity of his master. The Duke reminds us that he is an Italian, and desires to prove himself such, that, as it is credibly reported that the King of the Romans (Sigismund) is coming here, he wishes to make common cause against him with you and the Florentines; and he begs me to arrange the preliminaries of a League."[1] The Senate informed his Magnificence (November 9) as follows: "After all the idle and insincere professions of Filippo, it is no longer compatible with our dignity to hearken to his *lies*. If the Duke be really solicitous to treat, he can communicate directly with the Signory. But we command you to join without farther delay the Army of the Frioul."

The letter of the 9th November had a certain effect. Carmagnola started for his new destination; and his triumphant success, more damning to his character than the worst defeats, proved that it was only when his sword was drawn against one individual, that his unconquerable spirit forsook him. The enemy fled before him like sheep. They were discomfited and scattered at all points. At Rosazzo, the Hungarian army was all but destroyed. After these noble exploits, the Count begged and obtained leave to pay a visit to Venice; during his stay, he had more than one

[1] Romanin (iv. 146).

interview with the Government; and in the middle of December he returned to his old quarters at Brescia.

The gratifying operations in the Frioul, combined with the miscarriage of an attempt to despatch the Duke by poison, made by a person named Micheletto Muazzo, and countenanced by the Ten (October 10 [1]), induced the Senate to resort to an experiment of a different kind. On the 28th December, it was moved that "the Lordship of Milan be offered to his Magnificence upon the contingency of the total destruction of Filippo's power;" but an amendment was brought forward "that this be reserved as a final resource;" and the latter was carried. On the following day, however, it was resolved that, "as it is of high moment to have somebody of trust at all times near the person of his Magnificence, the noble Giorgio Cornaro do proceed to the Camp immediately as Proveditor-General with instructions to promise a liberal scale of recompense to the Condottieri, to urge the prompt passage of the Adda—the Governor of Bergamo having written to say 'that matters are in excellent train at Lodi and Crema,' and to distribute the pay to the heads of Companies, so soon as the Camp is shifted." But Carmagnola was superior to persuasion; and about the middle of January [2] (1432) the unpleasant news was brought to Venice, that her ally, the Marquis of Monteferrato, pressed by the Savoyards, had effected a reconciliation with the Duke of Milan.

The Venetian Government entertained a reasonable

[1] Romanin (iv. 146-7). [2] Ibid. (iv. 148).

expectation that, at least as the spring approached, the Commander-in-Chief would submit for its approval some scheme for the campaign of 1432. But the General did nothing of the kind; and with audacious assurance he merely continued to transmit accounts of his correspondence with the Duke. The Senate was furious. On the 21st February (1432), it addressed to him the following letter:—

"Francesco Foscari, by the grace of God, &c.

"We have seen and read your letter with its inclosures, sent to you by Cristoforo Gilino.[1] We reply to your Magnificence that, considering the small fruit which has been hitherto derived from the visits of this Cristoforo and so many others, continually accredited to you by the Duke on different pretences, it does not appear to us expedient, and we do not choose that either he or any other emissary whosoever shall be received henceforth, being perfectly convinced that there is nothing in the proposals which they bring but the wonted tricks and deceptions of the Duke."

Notwithstanding this studiously temperate but suggestive message, worded by the Government, and formally superscribed by the Doge, the attitude of affairs remained absolutely stationary, until Venetian patience was fairly worn out. On the 28th March, Foscari, in concert with all the members of the Privy Council, proposed, at a meeting of the College, "that the Pregadi be dissolved, and that the Ten do take the matter into their own hands." The three Chiefs of the

[1] His agent.

Ten[1] proposed as an amendment, that "this Body be not dissolved until the present business be out of hand." But, on a division, the first motion was carried by a majority of two; and the dissolution was decreed, the Decemvirs resolving to deal with the matter before them "circumspectly, but vigorously." In consideration of the gravity of the question, the tribunal demanded the assistance of a Giunta of twenty Senators; and these supplemental members, with the Doge and the Privy Council, raised the number to seven-and-thirty.[2] When the organization of the Conclave was nearly complete, a technical irregularity having been discovered, the whole process was cancelled; and the point, having been again submitted with all the previous forms, was again solemnly confirmed. The Senate was charged, upon pain of forfeiture of goods and heads, to abstain from divulging any of these transactions, and to keep the decemviral Decree of the 28th a profound secret.[3]

On the following day, Giovanni da Impero, Secretary of the Ten, a person of discreet character, and, according to the historian Sanudo,[4] "with a face as pale as a ghost," was furnished with the ensuing written instructions:[5]—

"GIOVANNI:[6]—

"We, Marco Barbarigo, Lorenzo Capello, and

[1] Romanin (iv. cap. 6).
[2] Paolo Morosini (*Historia*, lib. xix. p. 439).
[3] Romanin, *ubi suprâ*. [4] P. 1028.
[5] See *Historia Veneta Secreta*, p. 172 (Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 8580).
[6] Romanin (iv. 6).

Lorenzo Donato, Chiefs of the Council of Ten, and Tommaso Michieli and Francesco Loredano, Avogadors of the Commune, with our Council of Ten, command thee to repair forthwith to Brescia, to Count Carmagnola, our Captain-General, to whom, after the customary salutations, you will say that, it being now full time that something should be done for the honour and glory of our State, various plans have suggested themselves to us for a summer campaign.[1] Much difference of opinion existing, and the Count enjoying peculiarly intimate conversance with Lombardy on either side of the Po, we recommend and pray him to come here so soon as may be, to consult with us and the Lord of Mantua; and if he consent to come accordingly, you will ascertain and apprise us on what day he may be expected. But should he decline to comply, you will with the utmost secrecy communicate to our captains at Brescia and to our Proveditor-General our resolution to have the said Count Carmagnola arrested; and you will concert with them the best means for carrying out this our will, and for securing his person in our fortress of Brescia. We also desire that, when the Count himself shall have been safely lodged, the Countess his wife be similarly detained, and that all documents, money, and other property, be seized, and an inventory thereof taken. Above all, we wish and charge thee, before seeking an interview with the Count, to disclose confidentially to the authorities at Brescia and to the Proveditor-

[1] See *Historia Secreta* (Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 8580).

General the nature of these presents (since we ourselves have not communicated with them), enjoining them, under pain of their goods and heads, in case the Count be contumacious, to execute our behests."

On the 30th, in consequence of an afterthought that Carmagnola might penetrate the plans of the Signory, and endeavour to escape, the necessary orders were forwarded to the Governors and Captains of the Republic to second Da Impero, and if the General fled to any spot within their jurisdiction, to detain him till farther notice; and a circular, superscribed by the Doge, was sent to all the officers serving immediately under Carmagnola, bidding them not be surprised at these proceedings, assuring them of the earnest goodwill of the Government, and soliciting their implicit obedience to the directions, which they might receive through the authorities at Brescia and the Proveditor-General, Francesco Garzoni, Cornaro's successor.

Having arrived at his destination, Secretary Da Impero closeted himself in the first instance with the Podesta of Brescia and the Proveditor-General, and afterward proceeded to the quarters of the Count at or near Tercera.[1] "After the customary salutations," he presented his credentials, which were as follow:—

"*To the Magnificent Count Carmagnola, Captain-General.*

"The prudent and circumspect person Giovanni da

[1] *Chroniche Veneziane*, p. 426 (Add. MSS. 8579).

Impero, our Secretary, has been charged by us (*i. e.*, the Ten) to speak about certain matters to your Magnificence, wherefore be pleased to repose in him the faith you would give to ourselves."[1]

Carmagnola, too glad to have an excuse for quitting Camp, blindly fell into the snare, and immediately started with the Secretary of the Ten for Venice. At Padua, he was received with military honours by the local authorities; and he passed one night there, sharing the bed of Federigo Contarini, Captain of Padua, "his very good friend."[2] On the 7th April, he reached the Capital. A deputation of eight Nobles was in waiting to receive him. At the entrance of the Palace, Da Impero vanished, and the personal followers of the Count were turned back with an announcement that "their master will dine with the Doge, and will come home after dinner." But his other companions remained, and ushered him into the Hall of Saint Marks. As he passed through, the General observed that the doors closed behind him. He at once inquired where the Doge was, declaring his wish to have an audience, "as he had much to say to his Serenity." Leonardo Mocenigo, one of the Sages of the Council, stepped up to him, and told him that Foscari, having had an accident in descending the staircase, was confined to his room, and could not receive him till to-morrow! Carmagnola then turned with a gesture of impatience on his heel, and prepared to retrace his

[1] Romanin (iv. 155).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1028); *Chron. Venez., ubi suprâ.*

steps, remarking: "the hour is late, and it is time for me to go home."[1] When he arrived at the corridor which led to the Orba Prison,[2] however, one of the Nobles in attendance gently arrested his progress, with, "This way, my Lord." "But that is not the right way," retorted the Count hurriedly. "Yes, yes, it is perfectly so," was the answer given. At this moment, guards appeared, surrounded Carmagnola, and pushed him into the corridor. The last words which he was heard to utter were: "I am lost!" and, as he spoke, a deep-drawn sigh escaped from him.[3] During two days, he refused to take any kind of nourishment.[4] The Trial began on the 9th April with all the forms recognised and required in criminal procedure by the Constitution; the examination was conducted by a Special Committee of nine persons—Luca Mocenigo, Privy Councillor; Antonio Barbarigo, Bartolomeo Morosini and Marino Lando, Chiefs of the Ten; Daniele Vetturi, Marco Barbarigo, and Luigi Veniero, Inquisitors of the Ten; and Faustino Viaro and Francesco Loredano, Avogadors of the Commune.[5] On the 11th, the accused, having declined to make any answers,[6] was put to the question. It happened that one of his arms had been fractured in the service of the Republic; and the Committee consequently objected to the use of the estrapade. But a confession was

[1] *Chroniche Veneziane*, 426 (Add. MSS. 8579); Paolo Morosini (*Historia*, lib. xx.)

[2] *Chron. Venez. ubi suprâ.*

[3] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1028).

[4] *Chr. Venez. ubi suprâ.*

[5] Romanin (iv. 158).

[6] *Chron. Venez. ubi suprâ.*

wrung from him by the application of the brazier.[1] During Lent, the process was suspended. At its recommencement, a mass of documents were submitted for investigation; and numerous witnesses were summoned. Independently of the confession, which was possibly of indifferent value, damning evidences of treasonable connivance with Visconti were adduced. On the propriety of conviction there was perfect unanimity; but in regard to the nature of the sentence opinions were divided. The Doge himself and three of the Privy Council proposed perpetual imprisonment. The three Chiefs of the Ten, and the Avogadors of the Commune were, under all the circumstances of aggravated guilt, in favour of capital punishment. A resort was had to the ballot; and, of seven-and-twenty persons entitled to vote, nineteen voted for death. On the 5th May, 1432, Francesco di Carmagnola was led as a public traitor to the common place of execution. He wore a scarlet vest with sleeves, a crimson mantle, scarlet stockings, and a velvet cap *alla Carmagnola;* a gag was in his mouth; his hands were pinioned behind him according to usage; and there between the Red Columns, in the sight of all Venice, his head was severed from his body at the third stroke of the axe.[2] Thus fell, in the prime of life, the victim of his own blind and perverse folly, a man of the first order of talents, and within whose reach the most splendid opportunities had so recently been. The Government of Venice had tolerated his errors, until his criminality

[1] Paolo Morosini (lib. xx.).

[2] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1029).

was beyond a doubt. When his death was decreed, his corruption and treason were already sufficiently glaring. Yet there were subsequent discoveries, which made his case infinitely worse, and which procured an instant mitigation of the penalty against Nicolo Trevisano and the other officers concerned in the loss of the Battle of the Po; and some justice, however tardy and inadequate, was rendered to the sufferers by the open declaration of a member of the Signory in the Great Council "that, if the Government had at the time been in possession of that exact information which was now in its hands, its treatment of Trevisano and his comrades would have been very different."[1] It is well put by a modern writer,[2] that "Carmagnola seems to have acted in so equivocal a manner as would have made him amenable to any court-martial with little chance of absolution."

The remains of Carmagnola were conveyed by four-and-twenty bearers to the Church of San Francesco della Vigna. But, when the burial-service had already commenced, the friar, who had shriven the departed, made his appearance to state, that the Count had, in his last moments, expressed a desire to lie at Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari; and the wishes of the dead were respected.

On the 7th May, two days after the tragedy, a Chief of the Ten and an Avogador of the Commune waited on the Countess Carmagnola, to make known to her the fate of her husband, and to offer their condolences.

[1] Romanin (iv. 161-2). [2] Napier (*Florentine History*, iii. 191).

The Countess and her two sons were now pensioned conditionally upon residing within the Venetian frontier; but such of the property of the traitor, as remained after the liquidation of his large incumbrances, reverted to the Power, which had formerly lavished it upon him with its proverbial munificence; and all his titles and dignities suffered attainder.

In the course of April and May, despatches were forwarded to all the leading Italian States, to the Podesta of Treviso, the Podesta of Vicenza, the Lieutenant of the Frioul and other Governors of Provinces, and to the Legation at Ferrara, apprising them of the steps taken in regard to Carmagnola, and detailing the causes which justified the Signory in proceeding to extremities. Already, on the 8th of the former month, Marco Dandolo and Giorgio Cornaro had been sent to headquarters to assume till farther orders joint command of the Army.

The devolution of the Pontifical tiara, in March, 1431, upon the Venetian Gabriello Condolmiero was fraught with the best results. Eugenius IV. at once espoused with ardour the cause of his countrymen, and Visconti lost his most valuable ally. Under the new auspices, the Venetian army, commanded by Dandolo and Cornaro, conquered successively Bordellano, Romanengo, Fontanella, Soncino; and it was on the point of penetrating into the Valtelline when, in a severe defeat by Piccinino, which cost the Republic about 1,200 troops,[1] Cornaro had the misfortune to be

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1031-2).

taken prisoner.[1] He was sent to Milan (November 27, 1432). The Proveditor was a nephew of the Doge Marco Cornaro, and was a person of considerable weight and influence in the councils of the Signory. Upon receipt of notice of his capture, the Government hastened to supply the vacancy created by the death of Carmagnola; and in the beginning of the new year the post of Captain-General was conferred upon Giovanni-Francesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua. The troops confided to Gonzaga amounted, according to official returns, to 12,000 horse, 8,000 foot, and 11,000 *Cernide;* and a promise was given to the generalissimo that, if his exertions were attended by fair success, the Doge would grant him investiture of Guastalla, Mirandola, Crema and the Cremasque, Caravaggio, and Triviglio. The operations of the Lord of Mantua afforded the highest satisfaction. In a short time, he rendered himself master of the Valtelline and of Valcamonica; and the Duke was awed by his triumphant progress into taking the initiative in demanding peace. The Florentines, who had aggrandized themselves to a much larger extent than they could have expected in Tuscany, insisted at first (March 20, 1433), upon a continuation of the War, until the Province of Pisa was entirely in their hands. But the Signory overruled this objection; and peace was signed on the 26th April, 1433, the Marquises of Este and Salluzzo mediating. The new treaty gave the whole of Pisa,

[1] Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino* (Murat. xxi. 1062-3); Diedo (*Storia*, lib. x.)

excepting the disputed ground of Pontremolo, to Florence. Venice herself, whom the triumphs of Gonzaga had placed in a position to dictate conditions, was left in possession of Bergamo and all her other acquisitions on the Terra-Ferma. Lucca, whose loathing to the Florentines was frantically violent,[1] recovered her freedom. The Dukes of Milan and Savoy were pledged to the restitution of all the territory which they had usurped in Monteferrato and elsewhere. A complete exchange of prisoners was appointed to take place, and an amnesty was proclaimed.

The execution of the clause affecting the reciprocal adjustment of territory led to an angry correspondence between Venice and Savoy,[2] the latter demurring in the first instance to the restoration of certain lands belonging to Monteferrato; and the article touching the exchange of prisoners occasioned a singular revelation. When the Government demanded in due course the release of Giorgio Cornaro, the Duke sent word to say *that he was dead;* and his family accordingly went into mourning.[3] The statement of Filippo-Maria, however, was an audacious falsehood: for the Proveditor was still alive, and in one of the dungeons at Monza. It had been correctly supposed by the Duke, that an officer, who had filled such a variety of confidential stations, could not be otherwise than well-informed on

[1] Cavalcanti (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xi.)

[2] The Doge's letter to the Duke of Savoy will be found printed in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*

[3] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1032).

the affair of Carmagnola, in whose fate Visconti discovered a lively and suspicious interest; and no labour was spared to elicit from the prisoner all the facts of a transaction still imperfectly known at Milan. He was asked: "Who were the accusers of the General? Who were his judges? Who are advocates of War at Venice? What are the ulterior views of the Republic? What are her resources?" In the attempt to obtain answers to these interrogatories, the creatures of Filippo-Maria subjected the Venetian to the most hideous and brutal torments. When they desired him to denounce the members of the War-Party, Cornaro, in a moment of excruciating agony, muttered a few names, which rose mechanically to his lips; but they gave no clue. At another time, he said: "I am not aware that any particular person accused Carmagnola; the latter, by his egregious dereliction of duty, exposed himself to universal censure and distrust, especially when the letter had come from Brescia,[1] shewing how he neglected to occupy Soncino, although he might have done so with the utmost facility. So far as I know, there was no betrayal, no conspiracy. Venice loves peace; but when she is driven into war, she deems no sacrifices too great. If hereafter she be assailed in her lagoons, she will make the assailant rue his act." Such are the words which appear in the personal narrative left by Cornaro. The unhappy man was detained at Monza, notwithstanding all the protests of the Republic, several years; and when he at length

[1] Romanin (iv. 166).

returned home, in October, 1439, he was no longer himself. His frame was emaciated and disfigured; his face was haggard; his eyes were sunken; and his beard was long and matted. His constitution was hopelessly shattered. His health was never re-established; and his spirits never rallied. In less than three months, he pined away, and he died, in the December of that year, a miserable wreck. His countrymen did not fail to pay the last tribute of sympathy and respect to the nephew of the Doge Marco. All Venice followed his remains to San Apostoli.

Exactly a decade had passed away, since Francesco Foscari ascended the throne of Venice; and in that interval many events had occurred which were calculated to shed lustre upon the throne. At the same time, there was more than one circumstance which tended to sour his spirit and to cast a gloom over his life. In 1430, a noble, Andrea Contarini of San Apostoli,[1] probably not the same whom Carmagnola had met on his first coming to Venice in 1425, was unsuccessful in his application for the vacant post of Captain of the Gulf, for which he was declared scarcely competent; in thwarting him in the favourite object of his ambition, Contarini chose to conceive that the Doge himself was principally instrumental;[2] and at one of the public receptions (March 11) he thrust himself in the way of Foscari, and made a plunge in the direction of his nose[3] with a dagger. The blow had been dealt somewhat at random; and the wound

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1007). [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

which the weapon inflicted was happily very slight. The assassin was arrested. His friends pleaded in extenuation his insanity. But no adequate proofs of aberration or weakness of intellect were found; and, after examination before a Special Committee, the unfortunate man was sentenced to lose his right hand, and afterward to be hanged between the Red Columns.

In 1432, Foscari was not a little mortified by the departure of the Ten from his wishes in regard to Count Carmagnola, of whose death the Doge, in common with seven or eight other members of the Government, was anxious, under every circumstance of provocation, to spare the Republic the infallible odium. In the beginning of the following year, thirty-seven Nobles were denounced by name to the Decemvirs as concerned in a nefarious scheme for balloting to each other by collusion the more lucrative offices under Government; and the offenders were condemned to various terms of imprisonment or exile. Among the number was Pietro Ruzzini, a connexion of the Doge by marriage; Ruzzini was excluded for three years from the Great Council. In addition to these sources of vexation, many domestic troubles had fallen to his share. Since 1423, all his sons, excepting Giacomo, had died. On several questions of Home and Foreign policy he differed from his advisers; and the rejection of his views severely tried his proud temper. The pecuniary difficulties arising from a prolonged series of costly wars, to which he had lent his

sanction, harassed his mind. He was haunted by the prospect, absolutely agonizing to so true a patriot, of a future full of embarrassment, possibly not free from disgrace.

All these considerations made the post of Foscari peculiarly irksome to him, and inspired him with disgust for that power, in the attainment of which the young Procurator of 1423 had not hesitated to employ the most illicit artifices. At length, the feeling of lassitude and repugnance became so strong that, without consulting any one, he took a decisive step. On the 27th June, 1433, a month after the conclusion of peace, the Doge told his Privy Council that he desired to resign, and that it would be better for them to see about the appointment of a successor.[1] But the Privy Council, having asked time to consider, at length informed his Serenity "that they were unable to come to any accord," and so[2] the matter dropped there and then without reference to the Great Council.[3]

The consequences of the change of 1431 in the Pontifical Government had been hitherto felt only to a partial extent. The accession of the Cardinal Condolmiero to the Papal Chair wrought a complete revolution in the relations of the Italian Powers, and induced Venice herself to enter upon an entirely new line of foreign policy. The Florentine connexion was of equivocal utility at present. Florence, absorbed

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1032). [2] *Ubi suprâ.*
[3] Paolo Morosini (*Istoria*, lib. xx).

by her Tuscan projects, and offended by the support which the Signory had lent to Lucca, began to shew symptoms of coolness; and the Government of the Doge hailed with satisfaction the advent of a steadfast ally in the Head of the Church.

In the July following the election of Eugenius, a new General Council met at Basle with his concurrence to seek the accomplishment of the grand aim, in which that of Pisa in 1409, and that of Constance in 1414, had so deplorably failed. The Republic was represented by her own Ambassadors, and delegates were sent from all quarters to be present at the deliberations. In sanctioning the choice of a German city as the seat of the Conference, the Pope discovered, when it was too late, that he had committed an egregious blunder. The Assembly, removed beyond the range of his influence, soon proved itself unruly and contumacious. His Holiness was in a perfect phrenzy. He inveighed against its insolence. He hesitated not to declare his resolution to dissolve it; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that Venice restrained him from setting out for Basle and leaving Rome at the mercy of the opposite faction. The imperious and violent character of Condolmiero bred a good deal of ill-will, and created him many enemies. But his own countrymen espoused his pretensions with undiminished warmth, and Venice alone was powerful enough to protect him. Andrea Mocenigo, Ambassador at the Court of Prague, was instructed (if he judged fit) to make known to his Majesty that the Government of the Doge treated

Eugenius as the only true Supreme Pontiff, and gave him its hearty support.

In his Lombard wars, the Duke of Milan was not entitled to expect any longer the smiles of the Papacy; all the moral weight which the favour and friendship of the Vatican carried with them, was now transferred to Venice. But the Republic had also improved the state of her relations with the Emperor Sigismund. By a Treaty concluded in 1428, and recently renewed (June 14, 1432), all apprehensions on the side of Dalmatia and the Frioul were at all events postponed, and Venice derived from the successful mediation of the Pope a prodigious accession of confidence and strength. The treaty of 1432 contained one provision which did not occur in its predecessors, and which accorded to Sigismund free liberty to make war upon his enemies in the Peninsula, always excepting Ferrara, Mantua, Monteferrato, and Ravenna, "which enjoyed the special protection of the Signory." In diplomatic language, the Venetians intimated that, the defensive League between the Duke of Milan and their own Government having expired in February twelvemonth, they should not feel themselves at all pledged to interfere, whenever it might suit the convenience and taste of his Majesty to attack Filippo-Maria Visconti. After his coronation by the Pontiff at Rome, Sigismund proceeded to Basle, carrying with him 10,000 gold ducats, which the Republic had given to him at his own desire to enable him to advocate the cause of Eugenius.[1]

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1033).

"The Emperor," comments Leonard Aretin,[1] "came into Italy with every prepossession in favour of Visconti, and he leaves it with every prepossession in favour of the Venetians."

His Holiness, however, was so far from being out of danger, that his troubles could not be said to have yet fairly begun. The Duke, incensed at a turn of fortune which weakened so much his own power, and more than proportionately strengthened his opponents, indulged his anger and spleen by pouring a large body of troops under Francesco Sforza and Nicolo Fortebraccio into the Ecclesiastical States. The Pope tried to divide his enemies by offering to invest Sforza with the March of Ancona. But the Duke retaliated by inciting the Romans to revolt; and his Holiness, besieged in the Castle of San Giovanni Grisogono, escaped with difficulty from the hands of the insurgents. His track was happily undiscovered. The fugitive reached Leghorn in safety on the 12th June; and on the 22nd he arrived at Florence, where he met a joyous reception.[2]

After the lengthened maintenance of a neutral attitude toward the Church, Venice again found herself assuming the old character of her champion. Into this policy the chivalric element entered perhaps more or less largely: yet none was more excellently calculated to advance the views which the Republic was known to entertain on the mainland; and the present

[1] Leonardi Aretini *Suorum Temporum Commentarius* (Murat. xviii. 936).

[2] *Istorie di Firenze* (Murat. xix. 975).

situation of Condolmiero engaged therefore the gravest attention and most anxious thoughts of the Signory. It had become clear, that the outbreak of a fresh War with Milan was merely a question of time; and, although there might be every disposition on the part of the Venetians to postpone hostilities, circumstances were daily arising which rendered such a course by no means easy. As a temporary measure, an ambassador was sent to Bologna to exhort that City to preserve its allegiance to Rome, while a second proceeded to Florence with instructions to suggest the immediate levy of 3,000 men (of whom the Signory offered to contribute two-thirds), to shield the Holy Father from his persecutors, and to maintain in its integrity the Patrimony of Saint Peter. The affairs of the Church were in this distressing posture, when the struggle for political supremacy between the Florentine Houses of Medici and Albizzi terminated in the defeat and banishment of Cosimo de' Medici. The wealthiest man in his own great city, and the head of one of the principal banking Firms in Europe, Medici counted many friends in the influential circles of Venice. The Signory, having little faith in the stability of the Albizzi administration, instructed her ministers on the Terra-Ferma to receive the exile with full honours; and at her intercession the Florentine Government was even induced to sanction the residence of Cosimo and his family in various parts of the Venetian Empire. The banker himself fixed his abode in the capital. He was a man of a refined mind and liberal tastes;

and during his stay he spent large sums in amplifying the old Library at San Giorgio Maggiore, and in enriching the institution with the choicest works of art.

While the licentious element, which had imperceptibly crept into the freedom of the majority of Italian cities in the first half of the fifteenth century, was corrupting its character and sapping its foundations, the new principles of government and the new constitutional maxims, upon which the Venetian administration was conducted, carried with them an overmastering and irresistible force. While other States were the dupes of wretched superstitions or the victims of an abject tyranny, to behold a Power maintaining religious tolerance and equality of civil rights, was a novelty in Europe; and herein, even more than in her commercial prosperity, lay the cause of the greatness which Venice had attained, and of the malevolence with which she was regarded. The Republic was doomed henceforward to be perpetually at war with one Power or the other: with Milan, with France, or with Germany; with Europeans or with Asiatics. The motto of her Empire was Peace; but its upholder was the sword. To her ambition she had sacrificed for ever her repose. Her interests were identified and bound up to an extent which she perfectly appreciated with those of Tuscany and Naples; and her quarrels were Italian quarrels. On the other hand, the Dukedom of Milan was dangerous and detrimental to her; the power of Visconti was antagonistic to her power; his ambition was as insatiable

as her own; and she therefore observed with pleasure any tendency on the part of Sigismund to attempt the destruction of the Milanese dominion.

The Republic professed indeed the utmost moderation and forbearance, and declared that her rule was pacific. But the condition of the peninsula remained so ominously unsettled, that it was impossible to foretell, how far the influence of circumstances, if no other agency, might constrain her to return to that policy, which pointed as its ultimate object to nothing less than the absorption of Lombardy. The side, which Venice and Milan were taking in the religious contention of the day, was so opposite, that the relations between the two Powers necessarily assumed a very precarious aspect; and the prospect was rendered still less tranquil by the intrigues and troublesome conduct of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Louis de Teck, the creature of Sigismund. Before the Council of Basle, De Teck laid a formal complaint of the usurpation of the Frioul by the Signory. The Venetian orators, in accordance with their instructions, proposed that their country should hold the Province as a material guarantee, "until the expenses of the Friulan war were paid," as originally stipulated, and that if, when the pecuniary claim was satisfied, the Republic considered the cession at variance with her interests, the question should be submitted to arbitration. The Patriarch, however, not only spurned the suggestion, but launched a Monitory against Venice. That strong measure necessitated the transmission of fresh directions to Basle; and on the

13th October, 1434, the Senate met together to deliberate. It was resolved[1] that "our orators be desired, in omitting no opportunity of coming to terms, to seek in no wise any relaxation of the Monitory, since 'the more unjust it is, the less weight it will carry;' that, if it be found impossible to accommodate matters, they shall leave Basle, and, preparatory to doing so, call upon the representatives of all the Powers there assembled, to explain clearly how the case stands—how, whereas formerly, the Patriarch declining the friendship of the Signory, and stirring up enemies against her, the latter had recourse to Martin V.; how his Holiness, having vainly prayed the Patriarch to desist, at last consented to the War waged in the Frioul (1420–1), a War undertaken in her own defence, and for her own security; a War welcomed by the population, to which the despotism of the Patriarch had become insupportable. In what manner, they shall inquire, can Venice be justly called a despoiler of the Church? They shall point out how a number of petty tyrants have usurped lands belonging to their country, and have enjoyed them unmolested; but they shall urge warmly, that against the Venetians, who never usurped the property of any, but who only studied the welfare of their subjects, a charge of wrongful occupation is surely unfair!"

The government of the Doge subsequently (January, 1435) aimed at improving its position by taking the

[1] These particulars are derived, for the most part, from Romanin (*Stor. Documentata*, iv. 177, *et seq.*)

opinion of the University of Padua on the point of territorial right. The views of the Doctors were favourable, as might have been anticipated; and copies of the report made to the Signory on the subject were transmitted to all the European Powers, with which Venice had relations.

At the same time, the threatening complexion of Italian affairs persuaded the Republic to draw nearer to Naples and the Emperor. Already in the beginning of the year (1434), the Ambassador at the Court of Joan II. had been instructed to solicit the Queen to join in protecting the Papal States, and to sound her Majesty touching a Venetian alliance; and efforts were almost simultaneously made to convert the existing truce with Sigismund into an offensive and defensive League. The friendship of Venice was of more value to the Emperor just now than that of any other Power; and the Signory consequently thought herself strong enough to stipulate on her own behalf for the boundary of the Adda, leaving her ally at liberty to appropriate all the territory on the Milanese side of that river, while she demanded at the Imperial hands formal investiture with her acquisitions on the Terra-Ferma.

The Venetian calculations respecting a revulsion of feeling at Florence were speedily verified by the recal of Cosimo de' Medici and his restoration to office; and the nearly concurrent death of Joan II. in February, 1435, led, after a severe contest between the French and Spanish claimants, to the union in the

person of Alfonso V. of the crowns of Arragon and Naples.

Meanwhile, the War in Lombardy was recommencing with the seizure of Imola by a Milanese force in contravention of the Treaty of 1433. But the progress of hostilities was remarkably languid, victory inclining rather to Visconti. The Republic, however, laboured under great disadvantages. Her alliance with the Emperor, which had bred such hopeful expectations, did not add a soldier to the League. Florence, still fostering her old Lucchese recollections, and more bent on pushing her own fortunes in Tuscany than on fulfilling her contract, lent the Venetians no hearty or continuous support. Eugenius, intimidated by the menaces of Visconti, went over to his side. The successor of Carmagnola, Gonzaga of Mantua, began to follow his example, and to grow indolent and listless. Under such circumstances, the tide of war exhibited frightful fluctuations. In the course of these years, the Republic preserved with difficulty the Bresciano, the Bergamasque and the Veronese. Verona itself was lost and recovered. The enemy beleaguered Brescia. But the Venetian Government did not relax its activity for a moment. On the 17th March, 1436, a project was communicated by the authorities at Padua to the Ten for introducing Marsilio, the only surviving son of Francesco Novello, into that City in the disguise of a merchant.[1] The dexterity and closeness, with which the plans of Visconti and his minion

[1] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1099); and Romanin (iv. 179).

were laid, were such that the conspiracy was only discovered when it was almost matured. The informant of the local government was a peasant; the man stated that the execution was fixed for the 19th. Marsilio was arrested in the territory of Trento on his way to Padua. Conducted to Venice, he was brought before the Decemvirs, to whom he disclosed, under torture, all the details of the scheme;[1] and on the 20th March, he was beheaded between the Columns.[2] All his accomplices, whose guilt could be established, were sent to the gibbet.

The league with Sigismund, although it did not yield those practical advantages which had been so sanguinely anticipated, was not altogether without its use. One of the conditions had been, that the Emperor should grant the Doge formal investiture of the provinces added more or less recently to the Venetian dominion; and that interesting ceremony, perfectly consonant with the feudal theories which the Republic then found in force, took place at length, on the 16th August, 1437, on the Great Square at Prague. Marco Dandolo represented Francesco Foscari and the Signory. A platform was erected on the open space, surmounted by a dais, on which sat the Emperor, surrounded by his peers and councillors. An enormous crowd filled the square. So soon as Dandolo approached, two hundred gentlemen, magnificently habited, advanced to meet him, and conducted him with every mark of honour to the platform. The

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1040). [2] Paolo Morosini (lib. xx. 445).

ambassador, who appeared in a splendid suit of cloth-of-gold, walked in front of his retinue to the foot of the throne, and then sank on his knees. The Emperor instantly begged him to rise, and desired to be acquainted with the nature of his commission. Dandolo replied: "I am charged by the Venetian Republic to obtain investiture of the States which belong to her on the Terra-Ferma:" whereupon he displayed his credentials. Sigismund signified his complaisance; and in imitation of his example, all rose, and proceeded in order to the Cathedral, where mass was performed. On the return to the Square, the diploma was read, by which Francesco Foscari was declared "Doge of Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Ceneda, Padua, Brescia, Bergamo, Casalmaggiore, Soncino, Platina, San Giovanni-a-Croce, and *all* the Castles and places in the Cremonese territory and in the rest of Lombardy on this (the Venetian) side of the Adda." At the conclusion, Dandolo took an oath of fealty, and engaged, that all the successors of Foscari should repeat the ceremony, and should transmit a yearly tribute of 1,000 sequins in the shape of a cloak of cloth-of-gold or otherwise, as his Majesty might be pleased to direct. Sigismund brought the proceedings to a close by conferring the honour of knighthood upon the ambassador, and by pronouncing in his presence a glowing panegyric on the Republic. The diploma was dated the 20th July, 1437; and it was proclaimed by Ducal manifesto at Venice on the 20th November[1]

[1] Romanin (iv. 187).

following. Both the tribute and the investiture were of course the purest formalities. The former was never sent; the latter was never renewed.

Thus the constitutional figment, forming part of the received notion of tenure under the feudal system, witnessed a revival in the pompous Prague ceremonial; and the title which the Visconti, captains and archbishops of Milan, had borne in the preceding century, was allowed to devolve upon Francesco Foscari. Foscari became Doge of Venice and a moiety of Lombardy, and *Imperial Vicar*. The diploma of 1437 had its moral utility in legitimizing the Italian conquests of Venice, and in lending an approved sanction to her territorial claims: while the Vicariat was the most nominal and shadowy species of dependence, and the dimmest of unrealities.

Venice had seldom been in more urgent need of all the courage and strength, which it was in the power of collateral incidents to afford her. The Republic, in the prosecution of her war against Visconti, still laboured under numerous drawbacks. Above all, the Ducal Fisc was deeply and alarmingly embarrassed by the expenses of a struggle, which had lasted with few interruptions since 1424; and a pernicious anomaly had crept into practice, by which a portion of the Revenue was collected in advance. The consequences of the systematic adoption of such a principle were speedily felt; in less than twelve years 7,000,000 of fresh debt had accumulated. The Funds which, at the death of the Doge Mocenigo, amounted only to

6,000,000 (ducats), had already reached 13,000,000. Francesco Sforza and his Free Lances were no longer in the pay of the Duke; but the Florentines monopolized their services, and Florence continued to aggrandize herself in Tuscany, and to resent the Lucchese policy of Venice by estrangement.[1] The troops in the Venetian pay were insufficient to cope with the Milanese, even if the Signory had been more than commonly fortunate in her Captain-General, while the reverse was the truth. The Lord of Mantua manifested all the sluggishness and all the caprice of Carmagnola, without any marked indications of Carmagnola's genius; and his blunders and shortcomings became at last so flagrant, that his employers conceived a suspicion of his honesty.[2] The Polesine of Rovigo remained in the hands of Venice ostensibly in pledge for the payment of an old debt due to her from Ferrara; and the Marquis of Este, disgusted by the retention of his province, and emboldened by the firm attitude of the Milanese under Piccinino, began to listen to the proposals of the Duke, and to waver in his friendship for the Republic. Thus, the Florentine connexion continued to be excessively precarious; neither Mantua nor Ferrara was to be trusted; and the Government of the Doge was expecting from week to week to be apprised of the reconciliation of the Duke of Milan with his intended son-in-law over

[1] Cavalcanti (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xii. cap. 1).

[2] Soldo, *Memorie delle Guerre contro la Signoria di Venezia* (Murat. xxi. 789).

the joined hands of Bianca Visconti and Francesco Sforza.

Surrounded by these difficulties, added to her financial embarrassment, Venice felt that she had no easy part to play; and it was with a sensation akin to relief that she viewed the resignation of Gonzaga in November, 1437. "On the 26th (Nov.)," Sanudo reports, "the Pregadi held a meeting, because the Lord of Mantua had sent the Signory word, that after the end of the month he did not wish to retain the command, but desired to return home. Wherefore it was decided that Gattamelata should be made Governor of the Army." It was the latter, whose talents, energy and devotion had more than once saved the cause which he was serving from ruin; and the hope was cherished that, under his immediate auspices, the exertions of the troops would develope important and happy results.

Gonzaga had no sooner quitted the service, than he unmasked himself, and went over to the Duke, with whom he secretly planned a partition of the Venetian dominions on the Terra-Ferma, Verona and Vicenza falling to the share of Mantua,[1] Brescia and Bergamo, to that of Milan. His conduct, which had during some time been exciting mistrust, was now at once explained. His duplicity, and its tardy detection, enraged beyond measure his former employers; and reprisal was made by seizing the persons and property

[1] Simoneta (*Vita Francisci Sfortiæ*, lib. vi.); Soldo (*Memorie*, 809).

of the Mantuan residents at Venice, and by inflicting every possible damage on the commerce and territory of the traitor. His successor did not disappoint the proud expectations which had been formed of his genius and capabilities. The new General-in-Chief threw into the work before him an honest heart and splendid faculties; and all that it was humanly possible to do with the limited force at his disposal, Gattamelata performed with equal courage, fidelity and zeal.

Gattamelata had not only to contend against superior numbers, but he had to deal with a master-spirit. The Duke still employed the great soldier Nicolo Piccinino, the most distinguished disciple of the school of strategics, founded in Italy by Andrea Braccio of Montone. Piccinino carried all before him.[1] The Veronese, Vicentino, Bresciano, and Bergamasque, with the important exception of Montechiaro, the Orci, Palazzolo and some other first-class fortresses,[2] were overrun by the Milanese. The fortune of war threatened to wrest those valuable provinces altogether from the Republic.

The Venetian Government neglected no precaution for preserving its possessions and for protecting its subjects. The veteran Pietro Loredano was sent with a strong flotilla to the Po, to create a diversion in the direction of Mantua, and to compel Gonzaga to pro-

[1] *Annales Bonincontrii*, 148 (Murat. xx.); Soldo (*Memorie*, 789-90-1); Simoneta (*Vita Sfortiæ*, lib. v.); Cavalcanti (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. x).

[2] Soldo (794).

vide for the defence of his own estates.[1] By opportunely relaxing her grasp of Rovigo, over which she claimed no permanent jurisdiction, the Signory removed a lurking sense of wrong from the breast of the Marquis of Este, and secured a free passage for her troops through the Ferrarese territory. A renewed attempt was made to obtain the services of Sforza, still detained by Florence, with a view to his coalition with Gattamelata.

Piccinino, having made himself master of Casalmaggiore, crossed the Oglio, carried his arms into the Bresciano, and, marching in the direction of the Lago di Garda, took Rivoltella, Chiari, Pontoglio and Soncino; and, notwithstanding a severe check from the Venetian commander at Rosato, he advanced upon Brescia itself. That stronghold which, in the earlier part of the century, had actually connived at its reduction to the Venetian rule, evinced its predilection for the mildest and most constitutional of medieval governments by a noble and grand defence. A militia of 6,000 citizens formed the garrison; and the entire population, banishing, at the summons of the Commandant Francesco Barbaro, all party differences, united in the common cause.

The General-in-Chief had marched with a little too much boldness into the Bresciano. He soon found that Piccinino's superiority of force threatened him, if he continued to advance, with the loss of his communications with Venice, and that such a course was calculated to expose the Republic to danger; and Gattamelata, who

[1] Platina, *Historia Mantuana* (Murat. xviii. 817).

had only 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot under him,[1] was obliged to reconcile himself to the idea of falling back on the Veronese. In September, 1438, he began his retreat. The snow already mantled the Alpine peaks and ridges; the mountain-streams were swollen by the heavy autumnal rains; the roads were terribly out of repair; almost all the bridges had been washed away; and scarcely a ford was available. The Army was exceedingly short of provisions; and the rear was harassed by the troops of the Bishop of Trento, an ally of Milan. Everything depended on the exercise of unanimity, discipline and fortitude. But the men and their officers were devoted to Gattamelata; and the retrograde movement was conducted by the Captain-General, in such circumstances, with admirable skill and coolness. The torrents, gullies and ravines were bridged. The roads were levelled and repaired, or, where they were too bad, new causeways were constructed; and at the end of the month, after indescribable trials and hardships, and an unbroken series of forced marches, the Venetians debouched through Val-Caprino into the wide plain, on which Verona stands.[2] The Milanese were thus baffled in their more than suspected design of throwing themselves between Venice and her little Army, and of penetrating through the March of Padua (*Marca Patavina*) into the Dogado. The retreat of Gattamelata was deservedly regarded by the tacticians of his day as a masterpiece

[1] Platina (*Hist. Mant.* 816); Cavalcanti (lib. xii. c. 1).
[2] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1102).

of strategy; but that retreat, while it saved the Venetians from the ultimate ignominy of a surrender, necessarily reduced the Brescians to great straits. The inhabitants displayed in the presence of such a crisis a giant heroism.[1] Every sacrifice and privation were cheerfully borne.[2] The conduct of Barbaro exacted applause from his enemies themselves.[3] The two leading families, the Martinengri and the Avogadri, forgot their rivalry, and fought side by side. The garrison behaved with a gallantry which filled the besiegers with wonder and respect. Of the population generally, such was the enthusiastic loyalty, such was the fervent affection for Venice and detestation of Milanese sway, that not only women but children were seen to join in repelling assaults and in working at the breaches. The execution of the enemy's guns, of which the smaller threw 300 lb. stones, was frightful. One shot blew to pieces seven men, and scattered their limbs so confusedly, that it was impossible to collect them for burial.[4]

The Milanese main body, 20,000 strong, with between eighty and one hundred guns of the largest bore, was now concentrated before Brescia, the possession of which Visconti particularly coveted. At the same time, detachments of the enemy were penetrating to the banks of the Adige: while the Veronese

[1] Candido (*Vita di Piccinino* (1074).
[2] Id. (*Vita Philippi-Mariæ Vicecomitis*, 991).
[3] Platina (816); Candido (*Vita di Piccinino*, 1073).
[4] Candido (*Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1073-4).

March was swept and laid under contributions by the Lord of Mantua.[1] For these evils there was, under existing circumstances, and until the arrival of Sforza, no apparent remedy. But there was one object, which seemed to be in the power of the Ducal Government, and which it determined to accomplish at every cost and hazard; and this object was the relief of the faithful and suffering Brescians. The eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, by which the City is approached, was still open to the Republic; but on that lake, unfortunately, she did not possess a single raft. In such a dilemma, the Senate entertained a proposal, which had been submitted to the Government some time since by two foreign engineers, Blasio de Arboribus[2] and Nicolo Sorbolo, for conveying a flotilla across the Tyrolese Mountains on carriages drawn by men and oxen, into the Lago di San Andrea,[3] and from the latter across Monte-Baldo into the Lago di Garda itself. The distance to be traversed was about 200 miles, and the outlay was computed at 15,000 ducats or upward. It was the depth of winter, and a deep snow overspread the ground. Still the Signory, "who," to borrow the expression of a contemporary memoir-writer,[4] "could not sleep until Brescia had been relieved," did not shrink from the undertaking. For it was confidently calculated that it would develope

[1] Platina (*Hist. Mant.* 816–17); Candido (1071).
[2] Romanin (iv. 196).
[3] *Historia Veneta Secreta*, 27 (Add. MSS. 8580).
[4] Soldo (*Memorie*, 808).

one of two contingencies. By leaving the movement unopposed, the Milanese would enable the Republic to victual the place; by opposing it in force, they would leave the road from Brescia to Verona sufficiently unguarded to facilitate the transmission of supplies from that quarter. Immediate steps were therefore taken to carry out the scheme.

The flotilla consisted of five-and-twenty barks and six galleys; it was under the care of Pietro Zeno. Zeno proceeded by water from the mouth of the Adige up to Roveredo; from that point the passage to the summit of Monte-Baldo, over an artificial causeway of boughs, stones and other rough materials, *running along the bed of a precipitous fall*, furnished a spectacle which none could witness and forget. Yet the greatest difficulty even then remained to be overcome. The *descent from* Monte-Baldo was a perfect prodigy of mechanical skill. The whole process, which demanded an iron will and unflinching nerve on the part of those engaged in its execution, was conducted through the medium of huge ropes securely fastened to each vessel, before it was launched from the almost perpendicular declivity on the other side. The galleys and barks, thus guided and checked, were allowed to slide down the mountain; and the ropes were slackened little and little by pulleys and windlasses, until the ship reached the bottom. From the foot of Monte-Baldo to Torbole, the nearest point of the lake, was between twelve and fifteen miles; and after stupendous toil, and amid almost insurmountable obstacles, the Fleet

was at last set afloat on the Lago di Garda, in the course of February, 1439.[1]

This overland transport from the Adige, accomplished by a process of which modern history furnished no second example,[2] and in comparison with which the celebrated Passage of Hannibal dwindles into insignificance, was after all something like a waste of time and money. On their arrival at Torbole, where they were obliged to construct a haven[3] with such materials as they could command within the shortest possible time, Zeno and his companions found themselves confronted with a greatly superior naval force under Vitaliano and Giovanni Gonzaga.[4] Piccinino had collected their purpose, and had forestalled them; and the Venetian commander, after reconnoitring the enemy, had no alternative but to retire upon Torbole, and to throw out lines of palisades to save his little squadron from destruction.

The triumphs, which had down to the present time attended the Milanese arms, were undoubtedly owing in some measure to the masterly dispositions and unwearied activity of Piccinino, but they proceeded even to a larger extent from the faulty tactics of the Allies themselves. While the Lieutenant of Visconti had wisely concentrated his strength on the Venetian Provinces of the Terra-Ferma with the evident design

[1] Candido (*Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1076–7).

[2] See Platina, *Historia Mantuana* (Murat. xx. 823); Cavalcanti (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xii. cap. 6).

[3] Soldo, contemp., *Memorie*, 808 (Murat. xxi.)

[4] Platina, *ubi suprâ*.

and expectation of beating his adversaries in detail, the forces of the League were foolishly divided between Tuscany and the Marches; and it was a circumstance of a highly suspicious character that, although the interests of the Coalition no longer required the presence of any large body of men on the Tuscan frontier, where a *separate* peace between Milan and the Medici Government had *temporarily* suspended hostilities,[1] the bulk of the confederated army under Sforza was still retained by the Florentines, and Lombardy, the principal, if not the only seat of war, was almost denuded of troops! The Venetian Government, haunted by misgivings of the integrity of Cosimo de' Medici and his countrymen, and deeply anxious on financial grounds to witness the return of peace, now made an earnest and emphatic appeal to Sforza in person;[2] and at length, in the latter half of June, 1439, that General appeared on the plains of Lombardy. The Signory was delighted at his arrival. On the 23rd, the united colours of Venice, Florence and Genoa, were forwarded to him as an emblem of his mission.

The motive of the Marquis of Ancona in taking part with the Republics against the father of Bianca Visconti was sufficiently transparent. None understood better than Sforza the fickle and pusillanimous character of the man with whom he had to deal, and the cowardly heart which was masked by those

[1] Simoneta (*Vita Francisci Sfortiæ*, lib. v.)
[2] Platina (*Hist. Mant.* 825).

hardened lineaments; and he had begun to persuade himself that, if his dearest wish was to be accomplished at all, its accomplishment was to be procured by intimidation more surely than by any other method. On repeated occasions, Filippo-Maria had behaved to his future son-in-law with the most flagrant bad faith. In one instance, the marriage was actually fixed, *and the guests were even invited*,[1] when, on some frivolous pretext, the ceremony was indefinitely postponed. During the somewhat lengthened stay of Sforza in the Florentine service, the preponderance of Piccinino had increased to a dangerous extent, and the new Captain-General of the League secretly exulted in the prospect of making himself of importance in the eyes of the Duke, as well as in those of the Signory, by damaging the reputation and influence of his great military rival.

Venice and Sforza had thus become necessary to each other. By the fresh compact, dated so far back as the 19th February, 1439,[2] into which the General had entered with the two great Powers, the salary payable to him and his companies (in equal proportions) reached the exorbitant sum of 18,000 ducats a month; and the Republic herself, elated by the satisfactory aspect of affairs, is found repeating the alluring proposals which she had formerly addressed to Carmagnola. "So soon as you become master of the territory of Gonzaga," the Senate writes on the

[1] Simoneta (lib. v.)

[2] This agreement will be found *in extenso* in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* xv. 146.

30th July, "we will recognise you as Lord of Mantua; if you do not happen to succeed in this object, we will consent to your occupation of Cremona and the Cremonese. But if you cross the Adda, the Duke-dom of Milan itself shall, to the exclusion of the actual holder, be your reward; and we will acknowledge your title." [1]

The junction so long and fondly desired between Sforza and Gattamelata, now second in command, having been effected at the end of June, the Captain-General found, by a return taken at Montagnano on the 25th, that he had 14,000 horse under his orders, with the best part of the year before him; [2] and he soon shewed a determination to make the fullest use of his time. The Vicentino had been so incompletely conquered by Piccinino, that in a few days it was completely recovered by the Allies; and the enemy, apprehensive of being taken in rear, repassed the Adda.[3] The theatre of war was now transferred to the vicinity of the Lago di Garda, and the Commander-in-Chief was urged by the Signory to apply himself without delay to the object which she continued to have most at heart—the relief of Brescia. The march of the Army across the Tyrolese mountains in the footsteps of Zeno began in August, and the process occupied considerably more than two months. It was not till the second week in November, that Sforza arrived at the defiles conducting to the Fortress of Tenna; and here he found the Milanese

[1] Romanin (iv. 198). [2] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1102).
[3] Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1077 (Murat. xxi.)

and Mantuans under Piccinino in person drawn up in readiness to dispute the passage. With the aid of the Brescians, a large body of whom suddenly appeared on the heights and rolled down huge crags on the enemy in the gorge beneath, the Captain-General gained the day (November 9), and the position was triumphantly carried. A special messenger was despatched on that very evening from the field of battle with a note indorsed:[1] "To the Most Serene and Excellent Prince and Lord our Singular Good Lord, Lord Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice."

"Most Serene Prince,—

"This is to apprise your most illustrious Lordship that Nicolo Piccinino, being in force here to contest certain of the Passes of Tenna, we hastened to give the order to carry the said Passes. We sent for troops from Brescia; we charged the enemy, and scattered them. My Lord Carlo, son of the Lord of Mantua, has been taken; Nicolo Piccinino escaped. Our men are still in pursuit. We believe that a great many cavalry and also foot are in our hands. We write this to you in order that you may be in possession of the facts as soon as possible. We will shortly communicate with the most illustrious Signory more in full.

"From your most auspicious Camp at Arco, November 9, 1439.—Your Serenity's servants,

"FRANCESCO SFORZA, COUNT.

"GATTAMELATA DE' NARNI."

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1083).

At the moment when he wrote or dictated these hurried lines, Count Francesco was not aware of the manner in which Piccinino had slipped through his hands. The latter, when he saw that affairs were quite desperate, threw himself in the first instance into Tenna; but from an impression that he would be unable to maintain that position, he almost immediately afterward quitted the stronghold, tied up *in a sack half filled with rags*, and was carried *through the hostile camp* to Riva di Lago on the shoulders of one of his orderlies, a brawny Teuton of gigantic stature.[1] The feat amounted to a miracle: for Piccinino himself was a tall, burly man; and even to the huge, stalwart fellow whose back he turned to such good purpose, the load was a severe strain of muscle and sinew. A belief prevailed at the time in some quarters that the Venetian Proveditor, Giovanni-Jacopo Marcello, knew thoroughly well the contents of the sack, and connived at the trick. But this was so far from being the truth, that the Venetian Government offered a reward of 4,000 ducats to any one who should bring Piccinino dead or alive.[2]

No news came of Piccinino during a few days,[3] and Sforza proceeded to sit down before Tenna. But the astounding intelligence was soon brought that the Milanese general had surprised Verona, and was already master of the principal portion of the fortress! Sforza raised forthwith the siege of Tenna, and hastened to the relief of a place, the safety of which

[1] Soldo (*Memorie*, 814–15). [2] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1083).
[3] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 183).

was of infinitely superior consequence to that of Brescia itself. For there was room to believe that the enemy designed to follow up the reduction of Verona by an invasion of the March of Padua.[1]

The position of Brescia was so bad that it could hardly be worse. The pressure of the siege was momentarily removed; but the distress was becoming perfectly insupportable; and deliverance once more postponed, at the very moment when it had been thought to be indeed at hand, by the diversion into the Veronese, was to many patient and longing hearts, in the most loyal of Cities, a blow too bitter and heavy to bear. "Every day," records an eye-witness, "we have letters here, saying that Count Francesco has arrived, now in the Padovano, now in the Veronese; now telling us that he has beaten Piccinino; then that he has driven him beyond the Adige. In these reports there is a good deal that is true enough, and a good deal that is not. One thing is certain: the League has been renewed. Disease and hunger are at their height here. It seems to me, that people are getting quite weary of life. Such is their sad condition, that it is only because they dread coming again under the rule of *that Duke of Milan*, that they hold out."[2] "Affairs," the author of the same *Memorials* tells us in August, 1439, "have nearly reached a climax. The pestilence is most terrible, the scarcity hardly less so. Between forty-five and fifty are perishing daily: yet, under the hope that

[1] Candido (*Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1077). [2] Soldo (*Memorie*, 809).

Count Francesco will soon be crossing the Mincio, we forget our troubles in the absorbing idea of the arrival of the Count."[1]

In the ensuing month, a frightful calamity befel the Republic and her faithful subjects. The flotilla on the Lago di Garda under Pietro Zeno, having left its tolerably secure anchorage at Torbole, was surprised by the enemy on the 26th September,[2] and was absolutely annihilated! But Venice did not allow herself to be disheartened by the loss; the Senate directed the organization on the spot of one far more numerous and powerful; and of the feverish anxiety with which each vessel was watched in its progress toward completion a graphic and animated picture survives.[3]

Some sort of help, however, was approaching at length. Sforza, having recovered Verona,[4] and having thwarted his adversary in his plan for carrying the War into the Padovano by compelling him to retreat,[5] retraced his steps by a series of rapid countermarches, and succeeded, in spite of Piccinino, in throwing victuals and reinforcements into Brescia. But the season was now very advanced; the weather began to grow excessively cold and inclement; and the Captain-General had scarcely afforded the sufferers this partial relief, when he found it necessary to withdraw into winter quarters. His example was imitated by the

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[1] Soldo (812). [2] Ibid. (813). [3] Ibid. (815–16).

[4] Candido, *Vita Philippi-Mariæ Vicecomitis* (Murat. xx. 993); Antonio de Ripalta, contemp., *Annales Placentini* (Murat. xx. 876).

[5] Candido (*Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1077).

Lieutenant of Visconti; and thus ended the year 1439, in which Venice had completely won back her Provinces of Vicenza and Verona.

The supplies brought by Sforza to the Brescians furnished only a respite. Under date of the 10th April, 1440, we have the following:—"Bread is frightfully dear; people are living on grass, snails, horse-flesh, rats, mice, dogs, and other loathsome food. You may see, day after day, three hundred, four hundred, yea more, children on the Piazza, crying aloud:—'bread, bread, for the love of God!' There is no born creature so cruel that it would not melt his heart to witness such a spectacle. I believe that, unless Divine Providence were watching over us, we should, before this, have surrendered, or every soul of us must have died!"[1]

Till the arrival of Sforza in the summer of 1439, and his assumption of the Captaincy-General, both the military and naval operations of the Republic had prospered exceedingly ill; even the fleet on the Po, commanded by the illustrious Loredano, was obliged by a diversion of the river from its natural channel to return home without striking a blow; and Venice beheld a noble old man, whose earlier and happier years had been employed under the pacific reign of Mocenigo, fret to death at the troubles and disgraces of his country, and sink to his grave broken-hearted. The campaign of 1439 exhibited a favourable turn, and was on the whole as productive as could have been

[1] Soldo (820).

expected: yet the loss of the Lago di Garda squadron was a severe misfortune, while the fate of the Bresciano and the Bergamasque still hung in the balance.

In the campaign of 1440, already near at hand, the Duke of Milan was recommended by Rinaldo degli Albizzi, leader of the Anti-Medicean faction at Florence, and by Piccinino himself to attempt, in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, the diversion of Sforza from Lombardy by carrying the War into La Marca, and thence by the Maradi route into Tuscany. By this plan it was reckoned that Count Francesco, on the one hand, would be forced to provide for the safety of Ancona; while the Florentines, on their part, reduced to the necessity of watching their own separate interests, would throw the Republic on her own resources, and leave the Provinces of the Terra-Ferma at the mercy of Filippo-Maria. The Duke, therefore, accepted the strategical programme drawn out for him, and his lieutenant quitted his winter-quarters in February at the head of 6,000 horse. On the 4th March,[1] the Milanese reached Bologna;[2] Piccinino, having been reinforced by Ostasio da Polenta of Ravenna, Malatesta of Rimini, and other minor potentates, who gave their adhesion to Filippo under stress of intimidation, successively overcame the resistance of Oriolo, Modigiana, and Maradi; and from the last point pursuing his course, he crossed the Tuscan frontier, and occupied Bibbiena and Romena.[3]

[1] Pugliola, *Cronica di Bologna*, 664 (Murat. xviii.)
[2] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 186). [3] Cavalcanti (lib. xiv. caps. 2 and 8).

But Astorre, Lord of Faenza, father-in-law of Polenta, whom he had expected to join him with a powerful contingent, failed to make his appearance.

So far back as February, 1440, Florence, viewing with well-founded uneasiness the mysterious policy and fathomless ambition of Visconti, who had so long been a standing menace to Italy, sent Neri da Capponi and another citizen to Venice, with the object of concerting measures with the Republic for the common security; and on that occasion the Foscari Ministry had afforded the warmest assurances of friendship and support, even asserting "that the Republic would do her best that Florence should receive no harm!" The seizure of Maradi, which was shamefully deserted[1] by its defenders, and the violation of their frontier in the same summer, inspired the Florentines with renewed and increased anxiety; and a requisition was made, on the plea of cogent and momentous necessity, for Sforza and his Companies. The Captain-General, whose personal aim was rather to weaken and terrify the Duke than to destroy him, seconded the demand. "The Count," says Capponi,[2] "comes to Venice in person, and at great length demonstrates that his going into Tuscany will be useful to the League, alleging that Nicolo Piccinino has no one to resist him either in La Marca or in Tuscany, and that if he be not opposed he will make himself Lord of La Marca and Perugia, and will increase in fame and strength.

[1] Napier (*Florentine History*, iii. 255).
[2] *Commentarii* (Murat. xviii. 1192).

The Florentines, he states, have no means of withstanding the enemy; unless help arrive soon, one of two things will happen: they must come to terms, or be crushed!" But the Signory knew better. "The Doge," pursues the commentator, "assures Sforza, in answer, and proves it to him very clearly that if he (the Captain-General) crosses the Po, the Venetian provinces of Terra-Ferma are lost. His Serenity declares that the Duke, once conquered in Lombardy, *is conquered elsewhere;* and he protests that, if the Count has absolutely determined to go, they (the Venetians) have determined *to abandon the Terra-Ferma, and to spend no more money!*"[1] The result was that, upon an understanding that he should be provided with funds sufficient to enable him to raise such a force as might compel the Duke to recall his lieutenant, Sforza yielded. The Signory, after some demur, promised him for this purpose 81,000 ducats; and under such a stimulus his genius and perseverance soon won fresh and more splendid triumphs for the cause, which it just now suited him to serve. On the 10th April, Stefano Contarini, Captain of the new flotilla on the Lago di Garda, inaugurated the campaign by shattering that of the enemy; and Sforza hastened to turn that brilliant advantage to the best account. On the 3rd of June, the Captain-General made the passage of the Mincio; Rivoltella, Lonato, Salo and other places, submitted to him; and he continued to advance until, on the 14th of the month,

[1] Capponi (as above).

he encountered Piccinino between the Orci-Nuovi and Soncino. A battle took place, in which the Milanese were utterly beaten; and thus Brescia, after a three years' siege, and the endurance of incredible hardships, was finally relieved. The loss of life on either side was very trifling; but Piccinino was once more nearly captured. The old general contrived to elude pursuit, and, collecting a portion of his scattered troops, he marched with his usual rapidity against the Florentine position at Anghiari[1] on the Tiber, four miles from Borgo di San-Sepolcro. It was his hope that he might thus retrieve his fortune, and at the same time preclude the intended junction of the Allies. The Milanese, however, harassed by excessive fatigue, and obliged to fight with a blinding dust in their faces, experienced (June 29) a second defeat; and their commander had another hair's breadth escape from becoming a prisoner of war.[2] These successes spurred the Count to additional exertions; and the perfidy of Gonzaga of Mantua was punished by the loss of Valleggio, Asola, and Peschiera. "I have seen written with a piece of charcoal in the hand of Count Francesco," writes one,[3] who visited the spot about forty years after the event, "behind the gate of that Rock (Peschiera) these words: *On the . . . day of August, 1440, I, Count Francesco, entered this Rock in the name of the Signory of Venice.*" The Marquis of Ferrara, who had long been a trimmer, now knit himself once

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1098–9). [2] Soldo (*Memorie*, 828).
[3] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1100).

more in close alliance with Venice; Rimini[1] and Ravenna,[2] abandoning the Duke, again came over to the other side; and the year 1440 beheld the Lion of Saint Mark floating over the greater part of the fortresses of the Vicentino, Veronese, Bresciano, and Bergamasque. Trevi, Caravaggio, Soncino, Orci-*Nuovi* and *Vecchii*, Chiari and Monte-Chiari, and many other points, were in the hands of Sforza. Opposite Milan, he halted, and signified an inclination, perhaps a feigned one, to cross the Adda, and occupy the Capital itself.[3]

Piccinino retraced his steps, discouraged and moody. Taking advantage of the unprepared state of the Allies at the outset, he had made a few trifling conquests; but, with those exceptions, the result of the campaign had been singularly unpropitious to him; and "owing," as Cavalcanti will have it,[4] "to the bestial contumacy and stubbornness of Astorre of Faenza, his good fortune had turned to an evil one." The word *bestial* is one on which the Florentine historian literally doats. The Lord of Faenza is bestial. Filippo-Maria is bestial. In one or two places, Sforza is bestial. On the "bestiality" of this or that proceeding the writer insists with amusing emphasis, and dwells with evident relish.

The brilliant, though somewhat short, campaign of 1440 was virtually brought to an end by the setting-in of the heavy autumnal rains; all the real fighting had

[1] Capponi (1197).
[2] Romanin (iv. 203).
[3] Capponi, as above.
[4] *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xiv. cap. 2.

been done between April and July. Sforza looked upon his achievements with pardonable complacency: for he had not merely gained precious triumphs for the Republic, and surrounded with glory the flag of Saint Mark, but he had improved in a wonderful measure his own private prospects by making the Duke tremble on his very throne. The two consecutive checks given to Piccinino seriously frightened his master, and the thoughts of the latter began to stray once more in the direction of peace. For this purpose the Marquis of Ferrara exerted his rare eloquence and address.[1] A coaxing message was conveyed to the General in strict confidence. "His darling wish shall be gratified now without delay; Bianca shall be his; they shall be married directly; Cremona is to be her dower. But, *per contrà*, a treaty must be arranged; Francesco shall have the management of the whole thing; Francesco shall mediate!" The Venetian Government, on its own part, entertained no sort of objection to peace on a satisfactory basis, and a negotiation commenced accordingly, which lingered through the winter months, and came after all to nothing. Perhaps the Signory was too exacting.[2] Perhaps it is that Count Francesco, not feeling any strong confidence in the man who has duped him so often before, has not the matter much at heart, and prefers to kill the idle hours with the bewitching pleasures of the Venetian capital. "Count Francesco," notes Soldo in his *Diary*, "is spending his time at

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 191). [2] Ibid.

feasts and dances, while Piccinino is spending it in slumber!" Some excuse, however, is to be found for Sforza. When he was at Venice, the City was extraordinarily gay and seductive. In January, 1441, Jacopo Foscari, the Doge's only surviving son by Maria Priuli del Banco, his first wife, married Lucrezia, daughter of the patrician Leonardo Contarini.[1] The ceremony was privately performed at the Palace in the presence of his Serenity, the Dogaressa, and a few relatives and intimate friends. Speaking of the subsequent rejoicings, Giacomo Contarini, the bride's brother, writes under date of the 29th January to brother Andrea at Constantinople:—"This morning all assembled at Marangona—there were eighteen of us, dressed uniformly—at the house of the 'Master of the Feast.' We wore the stocking of 'the Company (Della Calza),' mantles of Alexandrine velvet brocaded with silver, doublets of crimson velvet with open sleeves, zones of the same colour, and squirrel-fur linings, on our heads caps *alla Sforzesca*.[2] We had two servants apiece in our own livery, and four in the livery of the Company; everybody was provided with a charger caparisoned in green velvet and silver; and, mounted on our beautiful and stately beasts, we looked as grand as any cavalry. Besides our grooms, we had other attendants dressed in silk, and men-at-arms, too, so that altogether there were not fewer than two hundred and fifty horses. I must tell you

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1099).

[2] Morelli (*Delle Solennita e Pompe Nuziali*, 1793).

that the Master was costumed very much like ourselves, excepting that his vest was a train, and that his cap was of crimson velvet. His lordship had twenty horses, and Messer Giacomo (*i.e.* himself) twenty-five. We started from the house in this order. In front marched some of the trumpets and fifes; then the youngsters in silk. Next came our horses covered with their trappings, followed by half the Company of the Stocking; then the rest of the trumpeters and fifers; then 'My Lord of the Feast;' then the other Companions of the Stocking; finally, all our remaining servants."

The procession, having made the circuit of the Piazza and of the Palace-Court, proceeded from San Samuele[1] over a bridge of boats thrown across the Grand Canal to San Barnaba, where the bride resided. The lady Lucrezia came out of the Palazzo Contarini, to meet us, walking between two Procurators of Saint Mark, and attended by sixty maids of honour; and all went to Saint Barnabas', close by, and heard mass. After mass, an oration was delivered on the open and densely crowded space in front of the sacred building, and in the presence of the Doge and the Court, commemorative of the virtues of the fair Contarini, and of the great actions of her progenitors. Upon its termination, Lucrezia re-entered her father's house, while the Companions of the Stocking, again taking horse, rode through the various quarters of the City, gallantly curvetting and prancing over the Campo di San Luca, the

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1099).

Campo di Santa Maria Formosa, and the Piazza itself, and occasionally indulging in mock-battles and playful skirmishes. In the afternoon, a splendid banquet was given at the Palace, after which one hundred and fifty ladies, sumptuously attired, mounted the Bucentaur, and again repaired, accompanied by numberless boats and by a band of musicians, to the Palazzo Contarini. Here Lucrezia was in readiness with one hundred other ladies to join them; and from the mansion of the Senator Leonardo the huge barge moved forward in the direction of the Palazzo Sforza, where the whole party landed. The bride entered the building between Count Francesco and the Florentine Ambassador. The visit was one of the stiffest formality; the procession soon re-embarked, and returned to the Ducal residence. On the Piazza, Lucrezia was met by the Doge, for whom room was found between his daughter-in-law and Count Sforza; and, on the staircase of Saint Mark's, the Dogaressa, with a train of fifty superbly-habited ladies, was prepared to welcome her. Dancing commenced almost immediately after the arrival of the guests; in the course of the evening, a princely collation was served on the tables; and after supper the ball was continued to a late hour.

The fêtes commenced on Monday, the 30th January. The principal event of that day was a tournay among forty persons for a prize given by Count Sforza of a piece of cloth-of-gold valued at 120 ducats; and the claims of two of the candidates, Taliano Furlano, an officer in the Milanese army, and of a soldier in

Sforza's companies, were so equal that the meed of valour was divided between them. A grand ball was announced at the Palace in the evening, and the Companions of the Stocking provided a supper.

The next day was very wet in the earlier part of the morning; but at a later hour the weather improved, and in the afternoon a regatta was held. On Wednesday, the jousts recommenced; and during a week or ten days, Venice continued to present a scene of revel and ovation. All the shops and merchants' offices were closed, and upward of 30,000 persons regularly congregated on the Piazza to witness the sports and pastimes. The same general routine was observed throughout, with some variations in the details.[1] The day was occupied with tournaments and every other sort of diversion. At night came the balls, masques and serenades; and after dusk the Piazza was lighted with white wax torches. The whole capital whirled with excitement. Count Sforza joined with hearty zest and glee in everything. His mornings were spent in the lists, and his evenings in the saloons. Such was the pomp which attended the nuptials of the fair Contarini with the Doge's son; it is said to have afforded a spectacle to which Italy had never beheld anything at all approaching in magnificence and costliness.

During all this time, Piccinino was very quiet, but not quite so fast asleep as some supposed. At all events, before December (1440) was far advanced, he

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1100–1); and Morelli, *ubi suprâ*.

had been awake and astir; and during that and the ensuing month he was busily engaged in preparations for the seemingly unavoidable renewal of the struggle. He took the field so early as February; Count Sforza was nowhere visible; and his opponent seized the occasion to spread a report, "that he had perished in a mysterious manner at Venice."[1] The truth was, that the Contarini Pageant and other attractions of the Venetian capital possessed for him an irresistible charm; and the Count was still to be seen tilting and pirouetting, while his troops were anxiously awaiting his presence, until they were obliged at last to relinquish the field, and to fall back on their fortresses.

The Venetian commander was superior in point of number to his adversary; but it did not answer the purpose of the Captain-General to press Piccinino too closely, or to damage the Milanese power to any irretrievable extent. It was not till June, that Sforza joined head-quarters; and even then nothing of consequence was undertaken. On the other hand, however, Filippo-Maria, growing disgusted and alarmed at the preposterous demands of his captains, who wished him, in the absence of direct heirs, to apportion his dominions among them, had been, during some time, in constant communication with Sforza, through his private Secretary and other confidential agents, at one moment hinting at some arrangement for the re-establishment of peace: while at another he darkly insinuated, "that a fate similar to that of

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 1101).

Carmagnola was in store for his successor, and that the Milanese service was safer and more remunerative." Sforza, if he estimated the innuendoes of the Duke and his creatures at their true value, was in a position to enjoy a laugh at their expense: yet the admonition, perhaps, was not without its use and profit. It taught him to be discreet and ingenuous; it seasonably impressed him with the folly and danger of employing a shuffling policy, or of behaving toward the Government of Venice with the same dishonesty, which had cost Carmagnola his head; and, at each successive stage of the negotiation, the precise attitude of affairs with the exact progress made toward the desired result was faithfully and minutely reported to the Signory. At length, Sforza forwarded for approval a protocol, which he was authorized by a decree of the Senate (August 6[1]) to accept; and, having signed on his own responsibility[2] an armistice for a fortnight, he proceeded to Venice to receive certain necessary instructions. It had been, in the first instance, the wish of the Republic, that the representatives should assemble at her own capital; but the Duke declared his preference for some neutral ground, and the point was waived in favour of Cavriana in the Cremonese. To this place came, in the latter half of September,[3] Paolo Trono and Francesco Barbarigo, the Plenipotentiaries of the Doge; the Venetians were content to relinquish the right of choosing the seat of the con-

[1] Romanin (iv. 201). [2] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1107).
[3] Romanin, *ubi suprâ*.

ference, so long as they were left at liberty to dictate the terms; and the nature of those terms makes it an allowable hypothesis that they were, to a large extent, of their own authorship. Count Sforza, familiar with the slippery character of his intended father-in-law, insisted upon being invested with the sovereignty of Cremona, and upon being united to Bianca, preparatory to the definitive signature of the Treaty; this step, to which Trono and his colleague did not think it worth while to raise any objection, involved great delay; and the Treaty of Cavriana was not published till the 20th November, 1441.[1]

By the new instrument, the boundary of the Adda was restored as the frontier-line between the territories of Milan and Venice. The clauses in regard to exchange of prisoners and other details of a like kind, found in the Treaty of 1433, were reproduced without alteration. Riva di Lago was transferred from the Duke to the Signory; and the former also lost Imola and Bologna, which returned under pontifical rule, and Genoa, which regained her independence. The Lord of Mantua relaxed his grasp of Porto, Legnago, and other Venetian possessions, which he had seized in the course of the War: while he ceded to the Republic Lonato, Valleggio, Asola, and Peschiera.[2] The rights of Venice over Ravenna, which had been in her occupation since February of the present year, were confirmed; and Cremona had already become the marriage-portion of Bianca-Sforza-Visconti.

[1] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1107–8); Romanin, *ubi suprâ*. [2] Romanin (iv. 205).

A fair statement of the chain of circumstances, under which the antient House of Polenta was deprived of its patrimony in Ravenna, is calculated perhaps to exonerate the Republic from a charge of direct usurpation. So far back as 1406, Obizzo da Polenta, then master of this principality, finding himself reduced by the ambition of his brother-in-law the Lord of Faenza, the Lord of Forli, and other neighbours to a position of grave peril, solicited and secured the protection of Venice. A Venetian podesta was sent to Ravenna to superintend the government: but the Polenta family still retained the sovereignty in its own hands, although the limit indicating where the authority of the podesta ceased, and where that of Obizzo began, was not perhaps very accurately defined. The conquests of Venice on the Terra-Ferma at that period, her wars with Hungary from 1410 to 1416, and her acquisitions in Istria, Dalmatia, the Frioul, Greece, Albania, and elsewhere between 1416 and 1424 absorbed the attention of her rulers; and affairs at Ravenna remained with little or no alteration till 1430, when Obizzo died, naming the Republic the executress of his will, the guardian of his son Ostasio, a minor, and, if that son died childless, Ostasio's successor. Upon the attainment of his majority, Ostasio exhibited a tyrannical and overbearing character; and by his excesses, which Venetian organs probably did not omit to exaggerate, he incurred great odium, and made many enemies among the better classes of society at Ravenna. In the fourth war between the Signory and Filippo-Maria

Visconti, Polenta, who happened to be residing at Treviso at that juncture, thought proper[1] to desert the cause of the Republic, and to go over to the Duke; but after the successes of the Army of the League under Sforza (1440), he forsook the Milanese connexion, and a Proveditor was sent to concert with him and his wife, "on the best means of preserving the devotion of Ravenna to the Republic." A crisis was at hand: yet Ostasio was blind to its approach. On the 24th October, 1440, a letter is written in the name of the Doge Foscari to Captain Jacopo-Antonio Marcello, stationed in the Garrison, as follows: "Advices have been received here, which give the Government to understand, that Messer Sigismondo Malatesta (Lord of Rimini) came to the Legate, in company with two citizens of Ravenna, and told him that the inhabitants do not choose to remain any longer under the sway of the Polenta, who governs them despotically. As the Republic holds this City sufficiently dear (*assai cara*), and cannot suffer it to fall into the hands of others, we desire you to proceed thither with troops, which you can procure from the Condottiero Michele Cotignola; the Proveditor Giovanni Leoni may act provisionally as Podesta, and preside over the administration of justice; and you yourself will take charge of the gates. It must be ascertained whether it is really true, that the people are hostile to Polenta; and, if so, the facts can be represented to his lordship, who may then be invited to pay a visit to Venice, until matters

[1] Rossi (*Historia Ravenn.* lib. vii.)

are smoother. On the other hand, if the presence of Polenta be not thought prejudicial, he may be allowed to remain where he is."

In pursuance of these instructions, Marcello marches upon Ravenna, at the head of 2,000 foot; and Ostasio, abandoning his patrimony, repairs of his own accord to the Lagoons. It is Saint Matthew's day when the Venetian officer arrives at his destination. The citizens and the people rise in arms against their oppressors, and with joyous shouts proclaim *Saint Mark and the Venetian Senate.*[1] An embassy is sent to Venice, to make known the wishes of the inhabitants; and on the 21st February, 1441, the Senate decrees "that the submission of Ravenna may be accepted," and proper steps be taken to suppress any revolutionary movements on the part of the Polenta faction. Ostasio, his wife, and his child are relegated to Candia, where the two latter die in the course of the same year.[2] The archiepiscopal see is preserved; but the salterns in the neighbourhood, which are said to be injurious *to the health of the locality*, are destroyed.[3]

The conclusion of peace was welcomed at Venice with processions, joy-bells, and thanksgivings. Count Sforza and his bride were invited to the capital; and the Princess Bianca was, upon her disembarkation, received with all imaginable pomp in the Merceria. Accompanied by the Doge, Bianca paid visits to the

[1] Rossi (*Historia Ravenn.* lib. vii.); Simoneta (*Vita Sfortiæ*, lib. v.)
[2] Rossi, *ubi suprâ.* [3] Id.

Arsenal and other public establishments, and was very much delighted with everything, especially when his Serenity takes her into Saint Mark's Treasury, and selects a gem worth 1,000 ducats of gold, which he presents to this charming young lady of seventeen years[1] next birthday, as a slight token of regard on the part of the Republic. Bianca is the daughter of a prince who nourishes toward the Venetians a deep-rooted and deadly hatred; and she has not improbably been educated in the belief that Venice is the high-place of wickedness, and a nest of assassins in figured velvet and embroidered lace. Perhaps this visit will help to disabuse her mind of such an impression, and will make her think nothing the worse of the people, whose hospitality her husband and herself are enjoying for a little time. As she peers, on the morning after her arrival, out of the window-casement of the palace, the Countess beholds a scene pretty similar to that which delighted and astonished Petrarch nearly one hundred years before her time: ships, as tall as houses, riding proudly on the calm surface of the Grand Canal, manned by oak-hearted and iron-thewed sailors who have visited every part of the world: crowded wharves and busy quays, where all the languages of Europe are spoken, and where every variety of dress is observable. In the forenoon, Bianca becomes a spectatress in the Lists on the Piazza, on the Campo di San Luca or di San Polo, where Venetian gentlemen vie in knightly prowess and equestrian

[1] Cagnola (*Storia di Milano*, 57; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iii.)

skill with the finest lances and horsemen of the Continent. At a later hour, the saloons of the Ducal Palace throw open to her a spectacle to which no other City can furnish a counterpart: three hundred ladies, regally apparelled, behaving with a grace rivalled only by their decorum, and in whose veins flows blood far older than that of Plantagenet or Courtenay; and when she withdraws to her own apartments, she hears not the screech of the owl or the baying of the hounds, to which she has been familiar from her girlhood in the cheerless palace at Milan; but all is quiet, except when the still air is broken for a moment by some church-clock close by, striking another hour!

CHAPTER XXIV.

A.D. 1441 to A.D. 1457.

Venetian Affairs from 1441 to 1447—Venetian Policy during that Period—Death of Filippo-Maria (Aug. 1447)—His Person and Character—His Four Wills—War of the Succession—Sforza's Fortunes—Sforza, Duke of Milan (March, 1450)—League between Venice and Naples against Sforza and Florence (1452)—Desultory Nature of Operations—Attempt on the Life of the Duke under the Sanction of the Ten—Treaty of Lodi (April, 1454)—Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453)—Treaty between Venice and Mohammed II. (April, 1454)—Great Italian League of 1455—Review of Venetian Progress and Civilization—Story of the Two Foscari (1445-56)—Deposition and Death of the Doge (Oct.-Nov. 1457)—Foscari and his Times.

From the date of the conclusion of the Fourth War against Filippo-Maria Visconti, which had borne some resemblance to an extended duel between the two commanders, till 1447, in which year that prince died, Italian politics continued to present a precarious and fluctuating aspect. The governing aim of Visconti in these later years of his life was to alienate Sforza from his employers by alternate threats and caresses, by insinuations against Venetian honour and magnificent proposals. Such a purpose, if realised, was infallibly fraught with extreme peril, and the Republic strove energetically to thwart it. Venice, while she judiciously refrained from hurrying into a war in the absence of any serious aggression upon Italian liberty, gave the Bolognese and Florentines assurances of her

intention to support them in case of necessity; and in the autumn of 1443, a defensive league against Milan for five years was subscribed by Florence, Genoa, Bologna, and the Signory, the last Power offering to place 2,000 horse at the disposal of Count Francesco, should he be attacked. In 1445, by a treaty between the Ducal Government and the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Venetian difficulties in that quarter were amicably solved, and all apprehension on the side of the Frioul was temporarily removed. The arms of Visconti, who had now (1444) lost the rare talents of Nicolo Piccinino, suffered constant reverses; but his secret negotiations with his son-in-law were more successful. Sforza, placed between two patrons, was during all this time in a state of sore perplexity. On the one hand, the Duke was for ever importuning him to espouse his cause; and his wife, probably, teased him to give way, and go to Milan. On the other side, the Venetians, who had laid him under obligations of gratitude, shewed themselves anxious to retain his services *and his friendship*. Thus two lines of conduct seemed open to the husband of Bianca, either of which he might, perhaps, have adopted without much hazard or injury to his character. But he chose to take a middle course, and to temporize with the Signory, while he was in treaty with Milan. Such a policy was highly profligate and unprincipled; and the Venetian Government, seeing through his duplicity, was emphatic in its expression of resentment. Pasquale Malipiero, one of the Procurators of Saint

Mark, was sent to expostulate with the Count on his abominable behaviour; and the rebuke of Malipiero was hearty and outspoken.[1] In April, 1447, the Senate[2] decreed the stoppage of his pay, the confiscation of the residences which the gratitude of the Republic had bestowed upon him, and his proclamation as a rebel; and troops were sent from Florence and Venice to close against Sforza all the passes of Lombardy. The alliance between the Pope and Alfonso of Naples had already had the effect of restoring La Marca to the former;[3] Jesi alone remained in the hands of Count Francesco;[4] and the Count was already beginning to feel himself in a critical dilemma, when the Duke, terrified by the ill-success of his military enterprises, disgusted at the mediocrity of Francesco Piccinino, a son of Nicolo, and distrustful of many of his other captains, sent a private secretary to head-quarters, urgently soliciting his son-in-law to come with his wife to Milan. Alfonso and his ally, rejoicing at the prospect of getting rid of Sforza and of obtaining Jesi, proposed at the same time to pay 35,000 florins of gold in consideration of his complete surrender to the Church of all rights over La Marca; and Sforza, "only anxious," as he said, "to study and obey the wishes of his father," took the money, and set out with Bianca and his companions on the 9th August. He had only reached Cotignola, his native village,

[1] Cavalcanti, contemp. (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xiv. c. 56).
[2] Navagiero (*Storia*, 1111).
[3] Bisticci (*Vita del Re Alfonso; Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 398).
[4] Cagnola (*Stor. di Milano; A. S. I.* iii. 72–3).

however, where he was halting to give his men rest, when the news came, that the Duke was no more! Filippo, after a few days' indisposition, had breathed his last at the Castle of Porta-Zobbia,[1] on the 13th of the month. It was characteristic of him, that his physicians were strictly forbidden to allow the least suspicion of his danger to transpire; and when his decease was at length announced, the greatest surprise was felt in Milanese circles as well as throughout Italy. Visconti carried with him to the grave the reputation of having been the most astute and wily prince of his time. It might have been added, that he was the most finished hypocrite and the most artistic dissembler.

The character of Filippo-Maria was altogether one of the most singular, which has appeared in any age or country. Even to those who conceived they knew him best, he was a riddle and enigma. He was the Sphynx of Milan, ever undeciphered and unsolved. For genius and disposition he stood quite alone. He was not the type of any class. He belonged to no school.

The late Duke had never been handsome or winning in his appearance. He could never be persuaded to have his portrait painted; but a contemporary[2] has preserved a graphic picture of his person, his character, and his manners. In stature, he was considerably above the common height, though, from his

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 219).

[2] Petrus Candidus, *Vita Philippi-Mariæ Vicecomitis* (Murat. xxi.)

habit of stooping, he seldom looked tall. As a boy, his figure was remembered to have been singularly lank and ungainly, his frame then being spare almost to emaciation:[1] but gross indulgence and unrestrained sensuality soon destroyed every trace of symmetry or comeliness; and long before the Duke reached middle life he grew monstrously corpulent. From a deformity in his feet, his legs had always been weak; and in later years the feebleness of his lower extremities increased so deplorably that he was obliged to support himself, whenever he rose from his seat, on a stout cane, or to lean on the shoulder of a page; but his biographer relates that, throughout his reign, he was never seen to stir abroad alone. Large, rolling eyes of a fierce, wandering expression, with pupils of a yellowish tint; projecting brows; a *snub* nose; a receding chin, on which the razor seldom intruded; high cheek-bones; a head which could only be described as an oblong; black hair, worn off the face, and combed and brushed as rarely as possible; a bull-neck, on which the fat literally lay in folds; and short hands with dumpy fingers, made his physiognomy by no means classical or fascinating.

Before his death, his eyesight had so entirely failed him, that he was nearly stone-blind. On this point he was so sensitive that the utmost care was taken to keep strangers in ignorance of the affliction, by warning him of their approach. The favourite diet of the Duke was quails, liver, and turnips. Occasionally, he

[1] Candidus (cap. 56).

woke in the middle of the night, ordered a calf's liver to be dressed, and until the meal was ready, paced the room with his attendants. His slumber was generally very broken and feverish; he often changed his couch as many as three times in a night; and he invariably slept in his clothes, and *lay across the bed*, instead of lengthwise, "which is a fashion," remarks Candidus, "I have never noted in anybody else." In his walks, it was his custom to mumble his prayers uninterruptedly, and to count his devotions on his fingers. His physicians were in constant attendance; and such was his dread of death, that he followed the most absurd prescriptions in the minutest particular.

There was no one who had been instrumental in the destruction of so many of his fellow-creatures as Visconti: yet it was more than any one dared to mention the word *death*, or to broach the subject in his presence; and the sight of a naked blade was enough to make him scream with terror. Though loathsomely filthy in his person, he was fond of gay clothes to a weakness: yet he strictly prohibited those about him from appearing in any but the plainest and most sombre attire. During a reign of more than thirty years, he was perpetually engaged in wars: yet he had never been present at a single battle, or seen a single siege; and he probably knew no difference between a trench and a counterscarp. He treated his nearest relations with a barbarity, which exposed him to universal execration: while he observed toward his prisoners of war, with few exceptions, a treatment

which many better and more merciful men ridiculed as childishly generous. When he was not sleeping or eating, or if no business was before him, he occupied himself with a book (his favourite authors were Livy, Dante, and Petrarch), or with muttering paternosters and aves, or with a puppet-show, which he kept in his bedroom, and for which he had given several hundred florins!

Visconti was of a saturnine and gloomy temperament; in his dealings with the members of his own household, his manners were morose; and in himself he was supremely wretched. Nobody enjoyed his confidence or his friendship; and hardly anything afforded him amusement. Yet, almost down to the last, he had discovered a certain lingering interest in his old passion for horses and dogs. His stud and kennel were by far the finest in Italy. On these pet subjects his memory never strayed; he knew all the animals which were at any time in his possession; and, before he was seized with blindness, he was able to tell at a glance the breed of a puppy or a foal.

In common with the majority of his contemporaries, the Duke was a firm believer in astrology and divination; he was also a fatalist; and the latter circumstance helps to explain the recklessness which sometimes marked his public conduct. To a more sceptical generation, some of his superstitious foibles cannot fail to present a ludicrous and contemptible aspect.[1] He was terribly afraid of lightning; and the room in

[1] Candidus (cap. 67).

which he slept had a double wall, to exclude the electric fluid! When it thundered, he used to creep into a corner of his bed beneath the clothes, and desire his servants to surround him that he might be hidden! He viewed it as a circumstance of sinister omen, if his right foot was accidentally put into his left shoe. On Fridays, he shrank from contact with a bird, or with a person who had forgotten to shave himself! On the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, he could not be persuaded to get on horseback; and it was a part of his religion to wear no colour but green on the 1st May!

Filippo had been through life in perpetual dread of the dagger and the poison-cup; he was painfully aware, how universally he was an object of hatred and fear; and he always remained secluded and inaccessible. Even the Emperor Sigismund, whom he had expressly invited to Milan in 1433 to assume the Iron Crown, was denied an audience! For, at the last moment, the Duke changed his mind, and shut himself up in his private apartments; to induce him to see his visitor was perfectly impossible; and, to the infinite glee of the Venetians, a breach was thus created between the two Princes, which was never closed. Yet to such few as were fortunate enough to win his good opinion, and to gain admittance to his person, no one could be more affable, gracious, and kind. Alfonso of Arragon, whom the chances of war once threw into his hands, was treated in a manner so considerate and liberal, that he was overpowered by astonishment;

and the generosity of the Duke to Carlo Malatesta, after the fatal battle of Sant' Egidio, belongs to the romance of history. If the Duke had not been by nature morbidly timid, it might have been imagined that his idiosyncrasy proceeded from a keen consciousness of his ill-favoured exterior, and from a desire to contradict the first impression of a stranger, that he beheld before him the ugliest man in Europe. But the fact was that, if there was any point in which this unhappy Prince was less variable and inconstant than another, it was in his fidelity to his early friends and to his old servants.

Filippo left behind him four wills, made at different periods and under various influences. By the first in date he named his cousin Antonio, by the second, a distant relative, Jacopo Visconti, his successor. The third left Bianca sole heiress: while the last, drawn up shortly before his decease, at the moment when Sforza was led by the behaviour and professions of the testator to believe himself in the highest favour, and signed by a dying man, annulled all its predecessors, and bequeathed the Dukedom of Milan to Alfonso, King of Arragon and the Two Sicilies!

The Republic who, apart from her well-founded resentment against Sforza, had no desire to witness a new dynasty established on the vacant throne, and who saw that, at all events, it was essential to oppose the pretensions of Alfonso, despatched on receipt of intelligence of the Duke's death (August 17) the Secretary Bertucci Nigro, to offer Milan her support

in its return to popular institutions, and to convince the Milanese that, in waging war against them, she had been solely actuated by a sense of the necessity of curbing the ambition of their late ruler. Conformably with Venetian counsels, the subjects of the Duke, boldly taking advantage of the uncertainty and confusion in which his testamentary dispositions had involved his affairs, came to the resolution of ignoring *all* the instruments; and a Republic was proclaimed at Milan itself, Como, Alessandria, and Novara.

Had not Visconti made a fourth will, the extreme probability is that his son-in-law would have succeeded without any dispute to his possessions, and that all the Italian Powers would have hastened to recognise him, and court his alliance, even the Signory, perhaps, not excepted. As the case stood, the Count felt that he had never been in so trying a situation in the whole course of his life; he seemed to have arrived at that point of his career, on which his future destiny must turn. La Marca was in the hands of the Church, with which he was at variance. Bologna and many other places had returned to independence. Lodi and Piacenza had spontaneously accepted Venetian governors. Venice viewed him with any but friendly sentiments. Florence had neither the inclination nor the ability to serve him. In Naples, he had a competitor whose cupidity was equal to his own, and whose title was superior. Moreover, Frederic III. claimed Milan as a fief of the Empire: while another pretender appeared in the person of Charles, Duke

of Orleans, son and representative of Valentina Visconti.

From motives of the clearest prudence, Venice objected almost in equal measure to Sforza and Alfonso. It was her desire to see Filippo-Maria without an heir, and Milan *self-governed under her auspices*. But Milan was too weak to protect itself without external support, and too proud to listen to the somewhat hard terms offered to its acceptance by the Signory. The Venetians, if they aided the Commune in the recovery of Pavia and the remainder of the old territory belonging to it, demanded for themselves "Crema and the Cremasque, Cremona and the Cremonese, with the city of Lodi." To such a proposal no disposition was evinced to accede; the Milanese, on the contrary, insisted on the restitution of Lodi, and Ghiaradda (September 25, 1447). The Ducal Government pointed out, that these towns had voluntarily placed themselves under Venetian protection; and Milan was required to deliver an ultimatum before a specified day. That decision being in the negative, the Republic wrote to several Powers, justifying the approaching suspension of her relations with the municipality, and invited Charles of Orleans to advance his pretensions, with the promise of her countenance and help (May, 1448[1]).

Venice was perfectly at liberty to dispose on paper of the Visconti inheritance; but there was a person, who conceived not improperly that he had some right

[1] Romanin (iv. 215).

to be consulted on such a question; and that person was Sforza. It was not to be expected that a soldier of fortune, no stranger to the darker side of life, and who in his time had suffered every species of vicissitude, would tamely submit to the loss of so rich a prize as that in prospect. The Count was sensible that he was surrounded by difficulties of a formidable kind; but his genius rose with the occasion; and while others were negotiating, he prepared to fight. After all, the point at issue was not whether Milan should accept or decline a yoke, but whether that yoke was to be an Italian, a Spanish, or a French one. Again, even if Charles of Orleans and the King of Naples had not been claimants, there was the certainty that some other adventurer—a Piccinino or a Coleoni—would come forward as a rival; and the only course, therefore, which remained to the husband of Bianca was to clear a path for himself with his sword.

An impression had now for some time been gaining ground at Venice itself, that the Milanese Revolution could not possibly be accomplished without bloodshed, and might be attended by immediate danger to the Republic. Peace was manifestly a condition of things, on the duration of which it was delusive and hazardous to reckon; and the Foscari Government appreciated the necessity, while it was treating with Milan, of forearming itself against Sforza. The pestilence had again made its appearance in the Capital, and had committed horrible ravages; but amid all their distress householders and tax-payers responded cheerfully to

the call for new aids; and a considerable sum was collected in voluntary contributions alone.[1] An attempt also commenced to reduce the National Debt, and to place the Finances on a satisfactory footing. A large draught of troops was sent to garrison "our City of Ravenna." Every soldier who could be spared from the tranquil Provinces of Terra-Ferma was forwarded to the head-quarters of the new Commander-in-Chief, Michele Attendolo, a kinsman of the Lord of La Marca, but an officer of very inferior capacity. A powerful flotilla under Andrea Quirini was stationed in the Po.

All eyes were now turned upon one object. Circumstances had changed, and with them had changed the interests and views of Count Sforza. That great man was no longer a suitor in suspense and an heir in expectancy; he was a successful suitor and an heir robbed of his rights. In 1440, the Count had fought with wonderful results beneath the Flag of Saint Mark; in 1447 he found himself directing all the force of his talents against the Republic. Meeting with no opponent capable of resisting his arms, he added conquest to conquest. The Orleanists were worsted at Bosco, in the territory of Alessandria. Piacenza was taken and sacked. The Bresciano and Bergamasque (1448) were once more overrun by hostile legionaries; and in July the Captain of the Po, attacked simultaneously by the Milanese army and flotilla, and unsupported by Attendolo, was obliged to save his squadron by committing the vessels to the

[1] Diedo (*Storia*, lib. x.)

flames.[1] Quirini, who had retired with his crews and men into Casalmaggiore on the night of the surprise, returned to Venice, where he was punished for his imprudence.

The successful movements of the enemy induced the Senate to test the result of shifting its ground, and abandoning the Milanese republicans; and on the 16th August that Body resolved "that Sforza be offered the lordship of Milan, upon the cession of Cremona only to the Republic." The Count replied by fresh progresses and fresh triumphs; at Caravaggio, the Venetians under Attendolo were severely discomfited; and the victor prepared to march upon Brescia.

Since the rejection of the terms offered by the Senate in August, the Republic, displaying that wonderful fortitude which belonged to her, had been straining every nerve to check the ambition of Sforza. The Captain of the Lago di Garda, Maffeo Contarini the Squinter,[2] was reinforced. Attendolo was put under arrest, and closely confined at Conegliano, on a charge of gross dereliction of duty. Pasquale Malipiero, Procurator of Saint Mark, and Jacopo Antonio Marcello proceeded to Caravaggio to reorganize the Army. Venice was unable just at this moment to command the services of a Gattamelata; but she was proudly conscious of the possession of boundless resources, of indomitable courage, and of an iron will!

Sforza was slightly awed by the new preparations, which were being set on foot at Venice, and by the

[1] Romanin (iv. 216). [2] Romanin (iv. 218).

resolute temper of the Signory. In the course of September, Angelo Simoneta, his confidential minister, with his knowledge and silent concurrence, took advantage of a momentary estrangement between his master and the democrats of Milan to open proposals to the Proveditor Malipiero; and those proposals ripened into the outline of a Treaty (October 18, 1448), by which the Venetians consented to aid the adopted son of the late Duke to recover the dominion of Milan, and to pay him till the completion of the arrangement *thirteen thousand gold ducats a month,* provided that Crema and Ghiaradda were ceded to them, in addition to the territory guaranteed under the Treaty of 1441. A fortnight after the conclusion of this convention at Rivoltella, an envoy arrived from Milan with enlarged powers, and, as it was believed, ampler concessions to the Republic. To his surprise, he was informed (November 3): "The Senate is no longer in a position to receive you, as it has already made terms with Francesco Sforza."

It seems rather doubtful, whether the Treaty of Rivoltella was ever signed, or even whether it was put into writing. The new understanding, however, between Sforza and Venice served as a temptation to the former, coerced by the clamours of his mercenaries, to march upon Milan, and to essay the reduction of the capital by famine. The inhabitants determined to exert every effort to withstand, if not to repel him. All the Free-Lances, whose services happened to be disengaged, were enlisted in their pay. Francesco

Piccinino, a member of the family most bitterly at variance with the Attendoli, was appointed Generalissimo. The charge of the garrison was confided to Carlo Gonzaga, son of the Marquis of Mantua. Letters were written to the King of Naples, the Duke of Savoy, Charles VII. of France, the Dauphin, and the Duke of Burgundy, imploring succour.

There was an influential and somewhat large class at Milan, comprising the Ghibellines and certain other Nobles, who were secretly favourable to the pretensions of Bianca and her husband; and a correspondence was at an early stage opened between the Count and his partizans on the subject of a surrender. But unluckily some of the papers connected with this treasonable transaction fell into the hands of Gonzaga; and the latter, from a desire to make himself popular, revealed the plot. The Guelphs, and the people generally, were furious. Their antipathy to Sforza increased tenfold. "Rather," they cried, "than have him, we will send for the Grand Signior, or for the Devil of Hell!"

The bold attitude of the citizens of Milan was doubly damaging to the Count. Whilst the impediments, which he was experiencing, injured his military fame, and disappointed his financial calculations, an important change became observable in the tone and temper of the Republic; and the Senate, seeing the unexpected course of events, began to regret its premature generosity. The present exigencies of the Count, and his passed successes, which gave severe

umbrage to Venice, coupled with the risk which the Signory incurred, by espousing his cause, of involving herself in hostilities with Naples, were coincidences claiming attention; and the Senate thought itself at liberty to reconsider its decision. The subsidy from Venice gradually ceased. The pecuniary aid which Florence had hitherto afforded was, manifestly at Venetian instigation, withdrawn. It was known that a Milanese emissary had been admitted to an audience of the Ducal Government. These were sufficient indications, that a change was impending in the policy of the Signory; and all the facts quickly transpired. In the beginning of October (1449), at the moment when victory was within his grasp, and the enemy was reduced to the last stage of misery, the Proveditor Malipiero, accompanied by Orsatto Giustiniani, waited upon Sforza at head-quarters, and signified to his Magnificence: "That the Republic, on account of the heavy outlay arising from a long series of wars, and of the prejudice, which the declaration of war received (July 8) from Naples, brought to her commercial interests, was obliged, *on the 24th of last month*, to effect a reconciliation with Milan;" and they cordially invited his Magnificence to vouchsafe his cohesion. The newest of new arrangements gave Crema and the Cremasque to Venice: to Milan, Lodi and Como, with their respective territory; while Cremona, Pavia, Piacenza and Parma were assigned to Sforza, as well as all his possessions beyond the Po and the Ticino, subject to the condition that, within six days,

he should send in his ultimatum, and that within three weeks the lands belonging to the Milanese should be evacuated. The Count was, besides, to be indemnified for the expenses he had incurred in acquiring those places, which he would now be under an obligation to cede; and it was stipulated that any differences, which might hereafter arise between the Milanese and himself, should be submitted to Venetian arbitration.

Sforza announced his readiness to acquiesce; and his brother Alessandro actually proceeded to Venice to conduct the Treaty. But, the twenty days' grace having expired, and the evacuation of the Milanese not having commenced, the Venetian commander, Sigismondo Malatesta, had orders to march upon Milan, and to attempt its relief. This plan not having succeeded from the strictness of the blockade, Malatesta directed Bartolomeo Coleoni to endeavour to open the Passes by crossing the Adda, and advancing on Como. At that point, Coleoni effected a junction with one of the Milanese generals, Giacomo Piccinino.

Meanwhile, Milan presented an awful spectacle of anarchy and disorder. The garrison and the population were famishing. Accents of distress were audible in every thoroughfare. A crisis was unmistakeably approaching. It was the 25th February, 1450, when a variety of discordant cries was heard in the streets. Some were declaring that they would have the Venetians; some were for the Duke of Savoy, some for the King of Naples. Others shouted the names of

Charles of Orleans or of the Pope. Such was the state of feeling, when Gasparo of Vimercate, an old gossip and companion-in-arms of Count Francesco, spoke a few words well and wisely for his friend. "All those you mention," cried Vimercate, in a public address, "are too distant, or, if not too distant, are too weak to help you. Your only means of extricating yourselves from famine and war is to submit to Sforza! In him you will find every good quality. He is just, merciful and kind. The best thing you can do is to recognise the son-in-law and adopted child of the late Duke, as the legitimate successor of Filippo!" This advice, adroitly delivered when everybody was in a condition of total bewilderment, and on the brink of starvation, was applauded and embraced. In the first week of March, a deputation waited upon his Magnificence, preparatory to his admission into the City, with a constitutional Capitulary, which he signed; and on the 25th, the Count made his solemn entry into the capital, and was borne in triumph to the Church of Our Lady, where a thanksgiving was celebrated for the happy event. A distribution of bread took place on the same day. On the 26th, Francesco, having presented himself in the principal square, was proclaimed with the customary forms PRINCE AND DUKE OF MILAN.[1]

The Milanese hastened to drown the remembrance of passed griefs and hardships in every species of rejoicing; and congratulatory addresses were offered

[1] Romanin (iv. 222).

to their new ruler by all the Italian Powers, except Venice and Naples. The Florentines hailed with delight an occurrence calculated to bridle Venetian ambition; no State, perhaps, was so prodigal of its compliments and eulogy; and the breach, already existing between the Government of Cosimo de' Medici and that of the Doge, perceptibly grew wider. The Republic was naturally indignant at the pusillanimity and equivocal honesty of the Guelphs in succumbing to Sforza, when succour and deliverance were so near; and the Milanese Revolution of 1450, which unavoidably produced an organic change in Italian politics, and created a variety of new interests, had the effect of drawing two Powers, hitherto estranged by a coolness amounting to hostility, closer to each other. It was possible, that the Venetians had neither the desire nor the intention of promoting Neapolitan projects of aggrandizement; but they were aware of no better, or rather of no other, instrument for carrying out their resentment against Sforza. The Signory very probably cherished an idea that, with the assistance of Alfonso, the partition of the dominions of Filippo-Maria might be accomplished, instead of their dangerous reunion in the person of his representative. Under the influence of such considerations, the Government of Francesco Foscari entered, at the beginning of 1452, into an offensive and defensive league, for ten years, with the Neapolitan Prince against Florence and Milan. All Florentine subjects were ordered to quit the Republic (May 16) and "the

Kingdom" (June 11); and a war, in which Venice, Naples, Monteferrato and Siena, found themselves arrayed against the Milanese and Florentines, commenced late in the same summer.

The League, which the Signory had organized, and of which she had placed herself at the head, soon proved itself no contemptible combination. The Venetian Army was divided into two sections, of which one under Gentili de Lionessa, after seizing the enemy's camp at Isola, crossed the Adda, and occupied Soncino and other points of the Milanese: while the second portion, led by Carlo Fortebraccio, a son of the famous Braccio da Montone, penetrated into the Lodesan. At the same time, the Marquis of Monteferrato, having ravaged the districts of Alessandria, Tortona, and Pavia, advanced unopposed to the very precincts of Milan; and Alfonso threatened Florence. The most curious circumstance was, that the troops of Sforza did not encounter those of the Confederacy in a single instance. In the early days of November, the Venetians and Sforzescans were once for a short period in presence on the Plain of Monte-Chiaro. But an impenetrable fog enveloped both forces; and even when the weather improved, the two commanders were so forcibly impressed by the magnitude of the interests at stake, that they separated without striking a blow! The heavy expense incidental to a campaign which had been totally without result, added to the mingled dread and detestation in which the present Duke of Milan was now held at Venice,

tempted the Council of Ten to assent to a scheme of assassination laid before it by some person unnamed. But the project was either abandoned at the last moment, or it was carried out, and did not answer expectations. The Decemvirs had probably bound over their anonymous correspondent to secrecy; and the Duke remained till his dying day, perhaps, in ignorance of the danger which had at one moment hung over him.

A step, which was in perfect keeping with the spirit of the times, cannot in fairness be ascribed to the peculiar turpitude of the Ten. It is fruitless and unjust to depreciate the civilization of the fifteenth century by forcing it into contrast with that of the nineteenth. It is more profitable to endeavour to ascertain, what relation the morality of the Venice of Francesco Foscari had to the morality of Florence under its "Balia," and of Milan under its Dukes! The Signory will not shrink from the comparison. Venice was surrounded on all sides by neighbours jealous of her power and her grandeur; and those neighbours freely taunted her with her pride and her ambition, as if she alone had been proud or ambitious! But none soberly pretended, that her political principles breathed a low tone of morality, or that her statesmen allowed themselves to be guided in their public conduct by doctrines revolting to the delicacy of such men as Cosimo de' Medici and Filippo-Maria himself! At the same time, the attempt upon Sforza's life was such a measure as neither the Senate nor the

Great Council would have sanctioned, and even such an one as the Ten themselves would scarcely perhaps have initiated. But it is easy to understand how a small conclave of men, acting under severe provocation, reconciled themselves to a proceeding, upon which they were taught to look as little more than the removal of a nuisance and an obstacle.

The Duke of Milan, destitute of money and allies, and harassed by the concurrent attacks of so many enemies, was already inclining to peace, when the final collapse of the Greek Empire, and the conquest of Constantinople by Mohammed II. (1453), struck all Christendom with dismay. That catastrophe, which had been foreshadowed during many years passed, taught Italy, at least, a lesson of concord and union. The Republic herself, though triumphant down to this point, was reluctant to prosecute a contest in which, looking at the pecuniary resources of her confederates, there was full ground for believing that she would be left at no distant date single-handed; and the proffered intercession of the Patriarch of Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani, was accepted no less readily by his own countrymen than by the enemy. The negotiations, however, dragged so slowly along, and acquired so strong a resemblance to a temporizing manœuvre, that the Senate wrote (December 11, 1453) to Francesco Veniero, resident ambassador at Turin, and desired him to seek once more the aid of France against the Duke, promising Venetian favour and support to Charles of Orleans in any conquests which "his Excellency"

may attempt beyond the Po and Ticino, and on the Milanese side of the Adda![1] It is hard to guess what the consequences might have been of a coalition between Venice and France for the partition of Lombardy, if such a plan had been actually accomplished. But the distinguished philosopher, Fra Simone da Camerino, who had devoted the best part of a life to the acquisition of knowledge, and whose learning and virtue procured him great influence over Sforza, succeeded, after many journeys from Venice to Milan, in prevailing on the Duke to disarm the resentment of the Signory, by assenting to an immediate pacification; and the consequence was that, on the 9th April, 1454, the Treaty of Lodi was signed. Under its provisions the Republic retained all her conquests on the Terra-Ferma, and acquired in addition Crema and the Cremasque, with Caravaggio, Vailate, Brignano, and Rivolta. The Duke engaged to refrain from imposing any tolls on the navigation of the Adda at its confluence with the Serio, to demolish the Fortress of Cereti, and to exchange his prisoners. Naples, Florence, Savoy, Monteferrato, Siena, and Mantua were included in the operation of the compact; and Genoa was left at liberty to give her adhesion.

Although the King of Naples was included in the treaty, the treaty had been signed entirely without his knowledge; and his Majesty was deeply hurt and exceedingly wrathful. The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Moro, however, smoothed away the difficulty

[1] Romanin (iv. 225).

with great adroitness, assuring the King that there had been no wish to offend or insult him; and after a good deal of demur and parade, Alfonso suffered himself to be mollified (Jan. 26, 1455).

Venice was the only Power, which had exerted itself with any strenuousness to avert the Byzantine Revolution of 1453, and Venetian resistance was exclusively maritime, and wholly ineffectual.[1] But the transfer of the seat of Mohammed's Empire did not permanently or even long affect the relations between the Turkish and Venetian Governments. From a sense of political duty, the Republic had essayed to stem the tide of infidel conquest, and to extricate Constantinople from its danger; but when the catastrophe was accomplished, and the evil was inevitable, a sense of commercial interest prompted her to be[2] foremost in ingratiating herself with the new master of the Golden Horn; and on the 18th April, 1454, the Sultan, harassed by a Venetian fleet under Jacopo Loredano,[3] accorded to the Signory a charter for the security of her subjects and the protection of her trade.

While Venice, yielding to the force of events, was thus striking out into an heretical policy, and was taking the initiative in recognising the *Ottoman Porte* as an European Power, her rulers did not enter with less warmth and avidity into a proposal emanating from the Duke of Milan, and seconded by the Medici

[1] *Risposta al Legato papale venuto per eccitare contro il Turco;* 18 Luglio, 1453 (Romanin, iv. *Doc.* No. 6).

[2] *Trattato di Pace con Mohammed II.*, 18 Apr. 1454 (Rom. iv. *Doc.* 7).

[3] *Commissione a Jacopo Loredano di operare contro i Turchi*, Feb. 22, 1454 (Romanin, iv. *Doc.* 5).

of Florence and others, for a great Italian Confederation against Germany and France. The ambition of foreigners had always presented a source of danger and alarm to the Free Governments of the Peninsula; and both the danger and the alarm had increased tenfold since a Spanish prince took possession of the throne of the Two Sicilies, and established a claim to that of Milan. It was impossible to view without terror the prospect of a War of Succession in the "Kingdom" between France and Spain, and of a second in the Milanese, between Spain and the Emperor. The death of Alfonso was capable of kindling the one, the death of Sforza the other. To meet such a contingency it was that, on the 30th August, 1455, a little more than a twelvemonth after the Treaty of Lodi, a defensive league for five-and-twenty years was made between the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, and the Signory, against any Power or Powers which might hereafter attempt to disturb the tranquillity of Italy! The League of 1455, which Genoa and Modena were left at liberty to join, if they thought fit,[1] deserves to be regarded as a landmark in the history of those troubled times and of that unhappy country. It was a glorious bond of strength, union, and peace.

The policy of Venice had long become systematically encroaching and absorptive. To swallow up all the petty States of the Peninsula was an aim on her part which, notwithstanding repeated disavowals, it was impossible to disguise. The path, which she trod,

[1] Romanin (iv. 226).

was not always perhaps of her own creation, or of her own choice. She often found herself under the irresistible influence of external agencies, sometimes even an involuntary assailant in self-defence. She yielded to the course of events, when she gratified the dictates of ambition. It is commonly alleged that, in setting foot on the Terra-Ferma, the Republic took a false step; but, whether false or otherwise, the step was taken, and it was unavoidable. The appearance of Venice on the mainland in the character of a conqueror was to be accepted as a political necessity. The aggrandizement of Milan, and the decline of many of the free Municipalities between Milan and the Lagoon, left her scarcely any option. If she had been less grasping, none would have gained by her moderation. It would have cost herself greater sacrifices, and what was actually a struggle for glory or honour, would have grown in a few years into a struggle for existence! The storms, which were perpetually rising in Italy, would have burst over her with tenfold violence. Not a single drop of blood, not a single ducat, would have been saved: while the invectives and reproaches, which envious neighbours were fond of showering on her, and which have been too frequently mistaken for History, would have fallen equally to her lot!

The eleven Provinces,[1] which formed the Venetian Empire on the Terra-Ferma, exclusively of the possessions of the Republic in Istria, Dalmatia, Servia, Aus-

[1] Padua, Ravenna, Verona, Treviso, Vicenza and the Seven Communes, Brescia, Bergamo, Feltre, Belluno, Crema, and the Frioul.

tria, Albania, Greece, Syria, and the Mediterranean, represented the accumulations of fifty years (1404–54). The Patriarch of Aquileia had been dispossessed of the Frioul. Roveredo had been wrested from Austria. Hungary had been compelled to abandon Zara and the other Colonies on that coast. The Count of Goricia had numbered himself since 1424 among the vassals of the Signory. The daring and successful genius of Sforza alone prevented the fulfilment of a scheme, which had more than once betrayed itself, for annexing Milan and the Milanese to the Dogado; and that scheme was postponed, not forsaken.

Venice had acquitted herself with high credit of her Thirty Years' War (1425–54) against the Duke of Milan and his Allies, in spite of a few reverses almost inseparable from a struggle maintained, often at great odds and under grave disadvantages, with professedly military States; and she now occupied indisputably the first rank among Italian Powers! The Venetian Empire was the most extensive, and promised to be the most durable, which had been formed on any constitutional principles since the days of the Romans. The Venetian Senate was the most august assembly in the world. The Venetian Navy was the finest which Europe had ever seen. During war, Venice employed, even at an exorbitant stipend, the best troops to be procured and the ablest generals of the age; and among her Captains of Companies, it was not unusual to find Hereditary Princes. Her patricians, so far from being purely political in their

education, or sordid in their tastes, prided themselves on the extent and versatility of their acquirements. They excelled in all manly exercises and in all enlightened pursuits. Not content with reading contemporary history, with mastering the intricacies of diplomacy, or with attaining the highest honours in the military profession, they studied the language which Cicero spoke, the language of the *Anabasis*, and the language of Holy Writ. They applied themselves to the liberal, mechanical and occult sciences, and to the Fine Arts. They became diligent scholiasts. They searched for MSS. with an avidity, eclipsing that of De Bure. They formed libraries, some of which were far larger than the Public Collections at Oxford or Paris. Some gave gratuitous instruction in the *Elements of Euclid;* others lectured on Ethics or Metaphysics. A Trevisano devoted ten years to the composition of a single Treatise, which he never lived to finish. A Giorgio naturalized among his countrymen the literature of the Troubadours and the songs of Provence. To a Polo, scientific men were indebted for the first Book of Travels in China, Kamtschatka, and Japan. A Pisani filled Europe with the fame of her beauty and her genius; and four nations competed for the privilege of doing her honour! She chose France, and France was flattered by the choice.

"D'avoir le prix en science et en doctrine,
Bien merita de Pisan la Christine,
Durant ses jours."[1]

[1] Clement Marot (*Euvres*, ii. 380: edit. 1731). See also *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, ii. 764, *et seq.*

Over such a State and such a people it had been the fortune of Francesco Foscari to preside during one-and-thirty years. But the splendour of rank and power did not in Foscari's case confer happiness or content; and the lot of the Doge was far from being an enviable one. The young Procurator of 1423 was now bending beneath the weight of fourscore years: yet the infirmities of age lay much more lightly on his head than the domestic afflictions, which had beset his path, and embittered his later days. It will readily be brought to mind that Jacopo, the Doge's only surviving son by his first wife, Maria Priuli, married in 1441 Lucrezia Contarini, and that the nuptials were solemnized at Venice with extraordinary magnificence. The younger Foscari was wanting in none of the accomplishments, which belonged to his station. His manners were elegant. He was well versed in classical literature, a distinguished and ardent Hellenist,[1] and moreover, a discerning collector of MSS. But he was, unhappily, a person of weak character and loose principles; and his unsteadiness of conduct formed a continual source of pain and anxiety to his connexions. The conspicuous position, in which the husband of Lucrezia stood, rendered the slightest departure from propriety a theme for grave scandal; but the faults of Jacopo were not always confined to venial levities. From vanity, and partly perhaps from the pecuniary consequences of reckless extravagance,

[1] *Correspondence of Francesco Barbaro and Poggio Bracciolini with J. F.* (Berlan, pp. 131–5).

Foscari at length permitted himself to become the vehicle for political corruption; and in the beginning of 1445 it came to light, that he had accepted bribes from certain placemen for the favourable exertion of his influence over the Doge. A denunciation was carried by some one—a Florentine exile, it is said—to the Advocates of the Commune, who in their turn laid the charge before the Ten. On the 17th February, the latter, finding the matter within their own cognizance, and judging it to be of high moment, procured in conformity with usage a Giunta of ten Nobles, and imposed on all an oath of inviolable secrecy. On the same day, a German, named Gaspar, one of Foscari's servants, and several others, were taken into custody, on suspicion of being concerned in the charges preferred against their master. But the business, whether intentionally or not, was so clumsily performed, that Jacopo received warning of his danger; and when the order for his arrest was signed on the 18th, he was nowhere to be seen. It was not yet known that, on the earliest alarm, the culprit had filled his pockets with all the ready money at his command, and had escaped to Trieste; and the fear, lest he might take refuge in some foreign country,[1] led the Ten to issue directions next day (February 19), that the fugitive should be captured wherever he was found. They also decreed, "that neither the Doge nor his kindred shall be allowed to preside judicially now or hereafter in any case affecting those who constitute part

[1] Berlan (*I Due Foscari, Memorie Storico-Critiche*, p. 69).

of the Council itself or the Giunta, and that for the future, when it happens that this affair is in process of discussion, his Serenity and all other members of the family shall be peremptorily excluded from the sitting, 'in order that all may speak their mind without constraint!'" These measures, which indicated the importance attached to the subject in hand, were followed on the 20th by the grant of licences to wear arms to all members of the Committee of Inquiry. On that day (February 20), Giovanni Memo and Ermolao Donato, two of the three chiefs of the Ten, moved as follows:—

"Considering the base, disgraceful and abominable excesses committed by Jacopo Foscari, son of our lord the Doge, against the honour and dignity of our State and Government, be it resolved that proceedings be opened against him (by default), in accordance with what has been said and read."

The resolution was carried; and numerous witnesses, including Andrea Dandolo, Priamo Contarini, and Natale Veniero, were examined in consequence. At a later hour, it was proposed by the remaining Chief, Francesco Loredano, "that the College be doubled, and that resort be had to torture to extract the truth more fully from the parties implicated;" but such conclusive proofs of criminality were thought to exist already, that the amendment fell to the ground, receiving only half a dozen votes;[1] and the sentence, that the accused should be banished for life to Nauplia, obtained an overwhelming majority

[1] Berlan (p. 72).

of suffrages. All the accomplices of Jacopo were tried and convicted. The decision on his own case was read in the Great Council for the general information; the Dogaressa, who preferred her request through his Serenity, was refused permission to proceed to Trieste, and take a last farewell of her child.

The sentence pronounced against Jacopo Foscari was marked by a severity proportionate to the declared heinousness of his offence; but no disposition was manifested by the Ten to enforce that sentence with rigour, or to lay themselves open to any charge of malignant persecution. On the contrary, this Body behaved toward the noble culprit with a tenderness, which positively amounted to a mockery of justice! Marco[1] Trevisano, the captain of the galley, which had been sent on the 25th February to transport the exile to his destination, wrote to his employers almost immediately after his arrival at Trieste, stating: "I have seen my lord Jacopo, and my lord treats the Ducal warrant with contemptuous levity, and declines to accompany me!" In the decemviral decree of the 20th, death had been made the penalty of disobedience: yet the Ten, unwilling to insist upon this cruel alternative, contented themselves with sending a temperately worded message to his Serenity (March 11), in which "he was prayed to persuade his son to respect the law, and to spare the Republic the scandal of a resistance to their commands." All representations and intreaties, however, were lost

[1] Berlan (p. 77).

upon the younger Foscari; and he was accordingly treated as a rebel. On the 7th April, his goods were *declared* confiscated;[1] the sentence upon him was solemnly confirmed; and it was decreed "that no one shall at any time under any pretence seek to obtain grace for the recusant."

Still the same delicacy remained apparent on the part of the Decemvirs in pushing the matter to extremities, and the same reluctance to exhibit unnecessary harshness toward the representative of the Most Serene Prince. The tribunal treated the offender with studied forbearance, and refrained under every provocation from chastizing his insolent conduct, looking upon him rather as a spoiled and refractory child than as a contumacious citizen. Months slipped away, and Jacopo still lingered at Trieste, where he spent his time as pleasantly as his somewhat ailing health would permit. Nothing shook or roused the ostensible apathy of the Ten in this respect. Constant revelations of fresh delinquencies on the part of the Doge's son wrought no change. On one occasion (June 22, 1446) a Decemvir, scandalized and irritated by the languid indifference of his colleagues, laid on the table a motion complaining that "although so many propositions have been submitted to this Council, at present nothing whatever has been done, to the discredit assuredly of the said Council;" and a Select Committee was then appointed to report on the subject. But no practical results followed. Another term of

[1] Berlan (pp. 88-9).

five months elapsed; Trevisano died; and Foscari himself fell so seriously ill, that he kept his bed.[1] Both these circumstances were taken by the *Great* Council into merciful consideration; and in a House of nine hundred and eight members, a resolution passed (November 25, 1446) authorizing the Ten in concert with the Giunta and the Privy Council "to deliberate and decide on the propriety of mitigating *or remitting* the sentence of Ser Jacopo Foscari." On the 28th, accordingly, at the motion of the six Privy Councillors, it was resolved by the Ten, considering the infirm state of health of Jacopo Foscari, and the death of Marco Trevisano, who was charged to convey him to his place of banishment, that, "all laws, all equity, justice and humanity requiring that, in extraordinary and unforeseen cases, against which it is impossible to guard, allowances shall be made for every one; it not being our desire to gainsay the Divine Will; and Providence being more potent than any laws: the excuses of the said Jacopo Foscari be accepted in the name of Jesus Christ, and the cause which prevents him from proceeding to his destination, be treated as legitimate, sufficient, and honourable." A Privy Councillor, Marino Soranzo,[2] proposed that the words "in the name of Jesus Christ" be omitted, and the phrase "by grace" be put instead; but the amendment, not receiving more than two votes,[3] was negatived; and the original motion passed with fifteen suffrages. On the same day, the place of exile was changed from

[1] Berlan (pp. 85–7). [2] Ibid. (p. 85). [3] Ibid. (p. 87).

Nauplia to the Trevisan; and Jacopo obtained the privilege of an invalid, in being allowed to reside at his own house in the country, so long as he refrained from infringing his parol.

Shortly after the transfer of Foscari to one of the suburbs of Treviso, an accident led to the discovery in one of the closets at Saint Mark's of a chest containing 2,040 ducats or thereabout; and from the statement of Angelo Simoneta, Secretary to Francesco Sforza,[1] Lord of La Marca, it was at once ascertained that the money had been sent by his master *as a present* to Ser Jacopo. Upon this disclosure, made April 5, 1447, Andrea Quirini, one of the Chiefs of the Ten, Giovanni Malipiero, Inquisitor, and Giovanni Giustiniani, *Miles*, were commissioned to repair to the Palace, and to claim the box, the contents of which were forfeited to the Commune. But so little did a spirit of vindictiveness really enter into the prosecution, that the Council with consistent indulgence neglected to attach any penal consequences to the equally illegal and unconstitutional act. On the contrary, hardly more than five months had passed since the revelations respecting the secret-service money, when the old Doge, having addressed a supplicatory and touching appeal to the Ten, succeeded in obtaining at their hands a full pardon for his unhappy child! On the 13th September (1447), the very day on which the Ducal petition was presented, it was moved as follows:—

[1] Berlan (p. 89).

"Chiefs: Marco Longo; Matteo Vetturi; Vettore Capello.

"Whereas our most serene Lord the Doge hath caused a petition to be made to this Council that grace be shown to his son Jacopo, confined at Treviso, as is set forth in the memorial laid before the Council, and (whereas), considering the condition of the times and the grave matters which occupy our State, it is necessary to have a Prince whose mind is easy and free from suffering, which cannot happen so long as his only son remains in exile, unsound in body and mind, as is familiar to all; and (whereas) it is an act of piety to exhibit toward our Lord the Doge himself, in this case of his son, that humanity and grace which this Government has been wont to use toward its other Nobles and subjects, in the times in which Our Lord God has vouchsafed to extend and amplify the dominion of this City; taking into account likewise, that the deserts of the Lord Doge demand a gracious hearing, and that it is his only son, for whom he pleads; be it resolved and ordered that, for all and every the reasons and respects aforesaid, the said Jacopo may freely return to Venice.

"Ayes, 19: Noes, 1: Not sincere, 3."

The motion was consequently carried; and Jacopo was restored to his family.

For upward of three years, neither the Archives nor the Chronicles bear any allusion to the hero of the foregoing story. Sobered a little by bitter experience and by the increased delicacy of his health, Jacopo

was probably during all that time in the tranquil enjoyment of conjugal happiness. But fresh and greater troubles were in store for the Ducal family.

On the evening of the 5th November, 1450, the patrician Ermolao Donato, as he was leaving the Palace, after attendance at a sitting of the Pregadi, on his return to his own residence at Santa-Maria-Formosa, was stabbed by an unseen hand; the blow did not prove immediately fatal; and Donato, having been carried home, survived till the 7th. The murdered man had filled at different periods some of the highest offices in the State; and during the months of January and February, 1445, when the crimes of Foscari were first divulged, Francesco Loredano, Giovanni Memo and himself were the three Chiefs of the Ten.[1] On the following morning, the Decemvirs met, at the summons of their Chiefs, Ermolao Valaresso, Giovanni Giustiniani and Andrea Marcello, to inquire into "the horrible violence and detestable iniquity committed last night on the person of the noble Ermolao Donato, our citizen;" and a Giunta of ten Nobles was formed as in the previous case. The mystery, which hung over the authorship of the tragedy, remained, however, unsolved. Exorbitant rewards were proclaimed to tempt those, who might be in possession of the secret; but no information transpired. On the 27th, one Luchino Zeno was arrested on suspicion; but his innocence was satisfactorily established, and after a short incarceration

[1] Berlan (p. 67, *et seq.*); Romanin (iv. 273).

he was set at liberty. On the 9th December, a new proclamation was published, and fresh inquisition was made. But no clue could be obtained. At length, on the 2nd January, 1451, on the information of Antonio Veniero, a Noble, an order was signed for the arrest of Jacopo Foscari and of several others, his accomplices!! The members of the Council and of the Giunta were forbidden *under pain of death* to communicate to any one the informer Veniero's name.

Veniero alleged rather lamely, in support of his denunciation, that on the 6th November last Oliviero Sguri, one of Foscari's servants, happened to meet Benedetto Gritti at Mestra, a few miles out of Venice, and gave him full particulars of the murder which had been perpetrated near Saint Mark's the night before. The deponent also asserted that on the 5th, at the hour when the Pregadi usually dispersed, Sguri had been seen sauntering about the corridor leading to the Pregadi Saloon, as though he was waiting for somebody. The testimony of Veniero was not very lucid or convincing. There was no reason why the intelligence, which Sguri had imparted to Gritti of Mestra the day after the occurrence, might not have been imparted by any other traveller from the Capital; and unless it was to be shown that the object of Sguri and his employer was to throw the Government off its guard, it was obvious that silence would in such a case have been a surer indication of guilt than the apparently uninvited reference of Master Oliver to Donato's tragical end. At the same time, several

points were adduced which, taken together, represented something approaching a connected chain of indirect evidence. Although Donato had explicitly declared on his deathbed, that he did not *know* who was his murderer, it was established that a personal enmity of the most violent description had subsisted between the younger Foscari and his supposed victim since February, 1445, when, as one of the Chiefs of the Ten, it became Donato's duty to pronounce the sentence of the 20th; and, arguing by a negative process, it was exceedingly natural to identify Jacopo's confidential servant—the only person who was observed loitering about the scene of the murder at the moment—as the author of the crime. The proposition of Luca da Legge, Privy Councillor (February 6, 1451), and also one of the Giunta, "that the proceedings shall be suspended and the charge dismissed, on the ground that the conduct of Veniero springs from the most mercenary motives, and that his denunciation is a piece of glaring perjury," was therefore negatived with some reason as at any rate too hasty; and a motion was substituted, directing the College, to whom the Ten had delegated the task of investigation, to prosecute their labours with all possible diligence. The members of this Special Committee were—Luca da Legge, Privy Councillor; Paolo Barbo, one of the Chiefs of the Ten; Dolfino Veniero, Avogador of the Commune; Paolo Trono, Procurator of Saint Mark; Andrea Morosini, Cristoforo Moro, and Marino Soranzo.

The Committee sat during the remainder of February and through the greater part of March. Andrea Donato, brother of the deceased, was asked to state "whether Ser Ermolao had let any expressions drop *in articulo mortis*, which tended to criminate Jacopo Foscari?" But Andrea could merely say that his kinsman in his last moments emphatically declared "that he freely forgave his *unknown* assassin!" Several other witnesses were called. Numerous documents and oral affidavits were received and submitted to consideration. Sguri and Jacopo himself were examined under torture. From Foscari's lips no confession was obtained: for he merely muttered a few unintelligible sentences between his teeth, while his limbs were wrenched by the cord. On the whole, the result was not very satisfactory; and the proceedings still exhibited a very faint prospect of termination when, on the 26th of March, it was resolved:—

"That it is necessary to bring to a close this trial, which has during so protracted a period been engaging the *undivided* attention of the Council!"[1]

It was then proposed to the Ten by two of the Chiefs, Carlo Marin and Paolo Barbo, that sentence should be entered on the Minutes as follows:[2]—

"Whereas, on the 3rd January last (1451), on account of the violent death of Ser Ermolao Donato, Jacopo Foscari was detained and examined, and whereas by the evidence, oral and written, which has appeared against him, it is shown that he is *clearly* guilty of

[1] Romanin (iv. 279). [2] Berlan (pp. 106–7).

the aforesaid crime, although he obstinately refuses to confess it, be it resolved that, for the aforesaid reason, the said Jacopo be relegated to the City of Canea, in our island of Crete, in such manner as to the Chiefs of this Council shall seem good, and shall be obliged to present himself once a day to the Government of Crete, not breaking his parol; and if he escape, and should at any time hereafter fall into the hands of our Government, his head shall be severed from his shoulders, and all his property sequestrated.

"Ayes, 17: Noes, 7: Not sincere, 4."

It was then moved:—

"That Jacopo Foscari be treated as a private citizen, and not as the son of the Doge; that the sentence be published at the next meeting of the Great Council, for the information of all; and that despatches be sent to the Podesta of Canea and to the three Governments of Candia, Rettimo, and Sitia, apprising them of the fact, and desiring them to proclaim the decree throughout their respective jurisdictions.

"Ayes, 25: Noes, 1: Not sincere, 2."

Also:—

"That the Chiefs of the Council shall repair immediately to the presence of the Most Serene Prince, to notify to him the sentence pronounced against Jacopo his son, and to exhort him *to exercise good patience;* and that this Council shall not separate, until the Chiefs return.

"Ayes, 26: Noes, 6."

Also:—

"That the obligation of preserving silence in respect to this affair be removed, excepting as regards the names of the informers and other third parties (*tertiorum*).

"Ayes, 18: Noes, 5."

Both the original resolution and the supplements thus became law. At that time the Chiefs of the Ten were Francesco Giorgio, Carlo Marin, and Paolo Barbo.[1]

On the 29th of the month, the Lords of the Night (Signori di Notte) conducted the exile from the Palace to the ship of Master Luca Mantello, which was employed to forward him to his destination; and in Mantello's hands their lordships placed the following warrant:—

"Francesco Foscari, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice, Treviso, &c.

"Luca:

"We intrust to thy ship Jacopo Foscari Our son, who will be consigned to thee by the noble gentlemen Our Lords of the Night; and We, with Our Council of Ten and the Giunta, do charge thee to keep close ward over the same Jacopo, and to deliver him to Our Government of Crete, together with the letter which We have caused to be given into thy hands, directed to the said Government, according to thy own discretion. And so soon as the said Jacopo shall have embarked, We, with the said Council, command thee on no account to permit the said Jacopo

[1] Berlan (pp. 106–8).

to quit thy ship, but to watch him vigilantly, and at thy speedy departure hence, to pursue with all diligence and care thy voyage into Crete.

"Given on the 29th March, 1451."[1]

There was the strongest presumption of guilt against Jacopo Foscari. In the decree of the 26th March, his criminality was even said to have been clearly established! Yet of direct or circumstantial evidence there was absolutely none; and the Decemvirs, not feeling justified in proceeding to the harsher measures, which a second offence of so black a dye might have otherwise required, contented themselves, in concert with the Giunta and the Privy Council, with banishing the accused to a spot, where the climate was delightful, the society excellent, where no restraint was to be placed on his movements, provided that he observed his parol, or on his correspondence. There was an almost universal conviction that Jacopo was fairly punished; but there was simultaneously every desire to believe him innocent. By the terms of their decree, the Ten laid themselves under a disability from proposing at any future date a repeal or even a mitigation of the penalty imposed: yet it was no sooner intimated (August 1st, 1453), that somebody was prepared to deliver certain depositions, helping to shed new light on the unhappy affair, than the Chiefs of the Council got leave to entertain the matter by special motion. No revelations, however, followed of any great relevancy,

[1] Berlan (p. 112). The superscription of this letter was the only portion really written by the Doge. The body of the composition was entirely framed by the Ten. See vol. iii. cap. 17.

or at least of a kind which might have thrown a doubt into the scale on the side of mercy; and Foscari accordingly continued to reside at his villa in Canea in the enjoyment of personal liberty and of many indulgences, but removed some hundred leagues from those most dear to him, and nominally, at least, obliged to report himself to the Governor every day. To the son of the Doge of Venice, to a husband and a father, who could say that this bereavement was not sufficiently cruel, or that that humiliation was not sufficiently keen?

Still the temper of the Government did not cease to lean in the direction of clemency; and there was the utmost probability that grace would have been extended to him, so soon as the flagitious nature of the crime brought home to him rendered his recal expedient, when his prospects were damaged to an almost irretrievable extent by his own blind and desperate recklessness.

It is on the 4th June, 1456, that one Luigi Bocchetta, called *Ballottino*, presents himself unexpectedly at Venice, with despatches from the Government of Canea respecting Jacopo Foscari. On the 7th, these papers are laid before the Ten, the Chiefs now being Luca Pesaro, Jacopo Loredano, and Leone Duodo; and they are declared to be of such gravity and moment, that the Council demands the association of a Giunta of twenty Nobles. The closest secrecy is prescribed; but members of the new College are allowed to speak *to each other* unreservedly on the

subject in hand. It is collected from the parcel of documents brought by Ballottino, of which some are in cypher, that Foscari has been urging the Duke of Milan (Sforza) to intercede on his behalf with the Signory, and that, not even satisfied with this misconduct, he has actually *addressed a letter to the Sultan, in which he implores him to send a vessel to Crete, and to convey him secretly from the Island.* To the letters in cypher, which the courier delivers, the key is missing, and the worst suspicions as to *their* contents are aroused. It is stated that the intrigue with the Turkish Court has been conducted through the medium of one Jacopo Giustiniani, and of a certain Battista, both Genoese, and the latter of whom was asked to put the addresses on Foscari's letters to Constantinople. Giustiniani and Battista are able, it is imagined, to furnish a good deal of information concerning the correspondence. Upon this suggestion, the Ten determine to act; and on the 12th June, the following despatch is sent by that tribunal, in the Doge's name, to the Governor of Canea:—

"Francesco Foscari, &c.

"On the 4th inst., we are in receipt from Luigi Bocchetta *dçtto* Ballottino of your letter, and of notes of the proceedings initiated by you on the declarations of Giovanni Rosso of Treviso, with the result of the examination of the said Luigi (Bocchetta), and a copy of the letter in the handwriting of Jacopo Foscari received by him. On the day after (June 5), we had your other letter, through your messenger

Giovanni Musso, on the same subject, together with the authentic letter in Jacopo's hand, and the leaves in cypher. We commend you for what you have done, and for the judicious manner in which you have made us acquainted with everything. Among other points, we observe that, within the last month, some Genoese escaped from shipwreck, landing at a place called Chisamo, repaired to the house of Ser Jacopo Giustiniani, a Genoese resident of Canea; and one of them was a certain Battista, with whom Jacopo Foscari contracted a close intimacy, conversing with him daily, and giving him an account of his own affairs. Among other things, he (Foscari) begged him to address a certain letter, which he desired to send to the Emperor of the Turks, with the object of removing him from Canea, and of withdrawing him in such manner from his exile. All which facts must be familiar to the said Jacopo Giustiniani, since they were settled in his own house; and you also inform us that the letter in question *was positively consigned to the said Battista*, who undertook to deliver it safely, and to get an answer. We wish, then, and with our Council of Ten and the Giunta, we command you to summon to your presence the said Jacopo (Giustiniani) and to call upon him to say on oath whatever he knows on the subject; whether Foscari *had* a reply from Turkey; and, if so, whether he had it through Battista; and all other details explanatory of the steps adopted by him to violate his parol against the honour of our Government, and to the prejudice of our State. You will

transmit the depositions of this Ser Jacopo with your own despatches under seal to our Council of Ten.

"Given on the 12th June, 1456."

Notwithstanding the treasonably unconstitutional nature of the charges against Foscari, two of the Privy Council, desiring that his "thoughtless and giddy" disposition should be suffered to plead in his behalf, had already, in their capacity as members of the College, moved (June 8[1]):—

"That it seems to this Council, that instructions should be sent to the Governor of Canea to send for Jacopo, to administer to him a stern rebuke, and to signify to him that, if the offence be repeated, he will have reason to be sorry for it."

But so mild an expedient did not meet with general approval, and it was ruled instead:—

"That he shall be brought under suitable escort from Crete, and shall be put upon his trial on the high misdemeanors, of which he is arraigned."

The articles of impeachment were framed by a Special and Select Committee, appointed on the 14th July, and consisting of Zaccaria Valaresso, Privy Councillor; Marco Cornaro, Chief of the Ten; and Zaccaria Trevisano, Advocate of the Commune, Doctor of Laws, and an eminent literary man. Foscari arrived on the 21st. He avowed the whole affair unreservedly; and it therefore became a question, whether it was necessary "to proceed." On the

[1] All these statements are founded on the documents printed by Berlan in *I Due Foscari*, 1852, carefully collated with Romanin.

23rd, this point was balloted. The Ayes were 19; the Noes, 11: Majority, 8. The process, however, was so much simplified by the confession of the accused, that the discussion on the sentence began on the next day, when the College was in full attendance. The Body was composed of the Privy Council, the Ten, the Giunta (twenty), and the Avogadors (three). Opinions were various. Lorenzo Loredano, Vettore Capello, Paolo Barbo, Hieronimo Donato, and Benedetto Barozzi, Privy Councillors; Orsatto Giustiniani, Chief of the Ten; and the three Avogadors joined in thinking that the ends of justice would be served by remanding Foscari to his place of banishment, with a warning that, "on the next conviction, he would be imprisoned for life." Valaresso, the remaining Councillor, added a twelvemonth's confinement at Canea. Cornaro, another Chief of the Ten, was in favour of sending back the exile without any additional penalties. On the other hand, Jacopo Loredano, the third Chief, considering the grave importance of the charge, voted for capital punishment. These several propositions were successively balloted. The first obtained twelve supporters; the second, being merely the first with an amendment appended, two-and-twenty. The third, that of Cornaro, had only two; and the most severe, the fourth, not more than seven. The consequence was, that the original proposal, as amended by Valaresso, was carried (July 24).

Between the 24th July, the day of the condemnation, and the 29th, the day on which the Ducal com-

mission[1] was handed to Captain Maffeo Lioni, master of the galley selected to carry the exile back to Crete, Foscari was lodged in one of the airy and commodious chambers of the Torricella State-Prison at the Palace itself; and there he was permitted to receive visits from all the members of his family. The spectacle was highly affecting. The agonized countenances, the tears, the sobs, were absolutely melting; and the final meeting between "the Two Foscari" is described by Giorgio Dolfino,[2] a kinsman of his Serenity and an eye-witness, as having been sublimely pathetic. "Father," cried Jacopo, "I beseech thee to procure me leave to return to my house!" "Jacopo," rejoined the other, "go, obey the will of the country (*La Terra*), and seek nothing beyond." But the painful exertion, which it had cost the old Doge to command his feelings, had a quick reaction. So soon as Jacopo had left the ante-chamber, where this last interview was suffered to take place, his parent sank faintly back on the nearest chair, and, the inflection of his voice betraying his intense anguish, faltered out, "O pieta grande!"

After the departure of his beloved offspring on the 29th July, 1456, Foscari neglected no opportunity of advocating his cause, and applied all the family influence to this cherished object. Vettore Capello, one of the Privy Council, Paolo Barbo and Orsatto Giustiniani, two of the Chiefs of the Ten, and many

[1] Preserved entire in Berlan (p. 130).

[2] Cronica MS. in the Marcian Museum, quoted by Romanin.

others, sympathized with his grief, and strenuously interested themselves on his behalf; and the canvass among the leading members of the Executive was progressing favourably,[1] when news came that death had done its work, and that the unfortunate man was no more! A marginal note is found to one of the Decemviral Minutes of the 24th July; it is to the following purport:—

"He (Jacopo) died on the 12th January, 1456 (*i.e.* 1457), as appears by a letter of the Government of Canea."[2]

This stunning blow paralysed all the remaining energy of the Doge. Surrendering himself to sorrow, he remained secluded in his own suite of apartments, absented himself from every Council, and not only declined to take any part in public affairs, but refused to see any one on business. Such a determination was calculated of course to throw the whole machinery of the Government into disorder, and to lead to the most serious inconvenience. There were cases in which constitutional usage rendered the Doge's presence or his signature indispensable; and the complete withdrawal of Foscari from his duties became therefore a source of almost daily embarrassment. On the 18th June, 1457, the Decemvirs assembled to discuss the question: the Chiefs for the time were Andrea Foscolo, Andrea Contarini, and Matteo Vetturi. The Privy Councillors were also invited to be present; but, as the meeting was of a strictly confidential character,

[1] F. Cornaro (*Quatuor Opuscula:* 1755). [2] Berlan (p. 127).

they were enjoined not to reveal the subject of the debate, "at the peril of their life," to anybody whomsoever. The Council separated, however, after all, without arriving at any definitive resolution; and the matter was not again broached till late in the autumn. On the 19th October, the Chiefs of the Ten then being Jacopo Loredano, Hieronimo Donato, and Hieronimo Barbarigo, the assent of the tribunal was obtained to the peculiar gravity of the circumstances, and to the propriety of sanctioning the formation of a Giunta or *Additio* of five-and-twenty Nobles, to deliberate upon the course of action most fitting to be pursued. On the same day, the exclusion of Leonardo Contarini, a member of the Ten, and of David Contarini, Privy-Councillor, both relations of the Ducal family by marriage, was decreed; and on the 21st, in the presence of the Ten, the Privy Council, and the Giunta, making an aggregate of *forty* persons,[1] the ensuing *Part* was submitted for approval:—

"There is no one,[2] who does not thoroughly comprehend, how useful and altogether how essential to our State and to our affairs is the presence of a Prince, without which, as becomes manifest from the results, the greatest inconvenience and detriment are apt to arise to our State which, since it has, by the infinite clemency of our Creator, been bequeathed to us by our forefathers hereditary and fair to look upon, we are bound to preserve with all our power, and to hold

[1] The Giunta was eventually limited to twenty-four.—Berlan (p. 184).
[2] Berlan (p. 185). "Nemo est, qui optimè non intelligat," &c.

dearer to us than our very life; and although this our City is furnished with holy laws and ordinances, it is of little avail and profit if they be not executed, if the observance of the same be relaxed. The presence of the Prince, besides, in the Councils, at audiences, in the transaction of affairs of State, how desirable it is, how glorious it is, it would be superfluous to point out. All are aware that our most illustrious Prince has vacated his dignity for a great length of time; and from his advanced age it is not at all to be expected that he will be able to return to the exercise of the functions appertaining thereto. How pernicious his absence and incompetence are, is more easily understood than explained. Wherefore

"It is proposed that, by the authority of this most excellent Council with the Giunta (*cum Additione*), the resolution be agreed to, that the Privy Councillors and the Chiefs of this Council shall repair to the presence of the most illustrious Prince, and declare to him our opinion, 'that the government of our City and State (which, as his Highness knows very well, is excessively arduous) cannot be carried on without the constant presence and co-operation of a Prince; also, considering how long his Excellency has, for personal reasons, renounced all share in this government, and that there is no hope that he will be able at any time hereafter to discharge his duties according to the exigencies of this State; and (considering) that his absence is threatening to involve consequences such as we are assured, from his affectionate patriotism, he can

never desire to witness:—on these grounds, which his Excellency, in his supreme wisdom, will readily appreciate, we (*i.e.* the Privy Council), with the aforesaid Council of Ten and the Giunta, have decided upon exhorting and requesting his Serenity, for the evident and necessary welfare of our State—his native land—freely and spontaneously to abdicate, which on many accounts he ought to do, as a good Prince and a true father of his country, and *especially* as we provide, that he shall have for his support and proper maintenance from our Office of Salt 1,500 gold ducats a year for life, as well as the residue of his salary due to the present day.

"Also, that if it happen that the same most illustrious Prince, on this declaration being made known to him, shall demand time to consider, he may be told, that we are content to wait for such answer till to-morrow at the hour of tierce.

"Ayes, 29: Noes, 3."

The Chiefs and the Councillors proceeded accordingly to present themselves to Foscari. Jacopo Loredano, being the most eloquent, spoke for the rest, and delivered the message of which they were the bearers. Loredano employed those expressions, which were least apt to give umbrage. He declared that the very great age of his Serenity was the sole motive for objecting to his continuance in office; his Highness's passed life, he said, had been an honour to his country; and he concluded[1] by asking pardon of the

[1] Giorgio Dolfino, contemp., quoted by Romanin (iv. 290).

Doge for the liberty which he had taken. Foscari replied at considerable length, justifying his conduct, and intimating that the course adopted was at variance with the Constitution, which required in a similar case the concurrence of the Great Council. He finished by saying: "I will not decide 'yea' or 'nay,' but will reserve my freedom of action!"

The constitutional question raised by the Doge was by no means without its importance in the eyes of the Ten. On the 22nd, the point was formally put to the ballot, "whether the matter in hand ought to be settled in this Council or in the Great." At the first scrutiny, nineteen votes were in favour of adherence to the present method of proceeding, sixteen in favour of transfer to the Great Council. The second and third scrutinies exhibited no alteration. On the fourth trial, the figures were twenty-one and fourteen, or a majority of seven against any change, three remaining neuter, or as the phrase was, *not sincere*. The Capi and the Privy Councillors paid therefore on that day a second visit to the Doge; but Foscari merely recapitulated what he had already said. The Chiefs and their companions then retraced their steps, and laid before the Committee, still sitting, a report of their continued ill-success. An animated controversy ensued. There was much diversity of sentiment on the course which it might be best to pursue. Hieronimo Barbarigo, one of the Capi,[1] represented the serious evils which were produced

[1] Berlan (p. 157).

by the absence of his Serenity from the Councils. "It is notorious," remarked Barbarigo, "that Messer lo Doxe *for four years passed* has not only kept away from the College and from the Councils, but has refused admittance to the Privy Councillors and the Sages of Council, who came to consult him in his own apartments." On the contrary, Andrea Bernardo, one of the Giunta, spoke warmly and with striking eloquence on the Doge's behalf; and many others imitated his example, pleading for those white hairs and for those matchless services. But Barbarigo was ultimately permitted to carry a motion, "that his Serenity shall be required to retire within eight days upon the stipulated pension, with an intimation that by disobedience he will only incur in addition the penalty of forfeiture." Before the labours of the Ten and the Giunta were brought to a close, it was already eight o'clock in the evening; and his Serenity, whose frame was no longer equal to much fatigue, was announced to have already retired. It consequently became necessary to defer till the 23rd any communication with him on the subject. On Sunday morning, the former deputation sought an audience, and signified the nature of the resolution at which they had arrived on the preceding night, and the old man perceived the futility of farther resistance. He drew the Ducal ring from his finger, and saw it broken in his presence; and he was afterward uncrowned. As the deputies left the room, Foscari observed, that Jacopo Memo, a Chief of the Forty,

and acting Privy Councillor, lingered behind the others, and gazed fixedly at him with an air of respectful compassion. The Doge beckoned him to his side, and inquired of him—"Whose son art thou?" The Minister said—"I am the son of Marino Memo." "He is my very attached friend," answered Foscari, with a slight smile of gratification; "tell him from me that I shall take it kindly if he will come and see me, so that he may accompany me in the gondola home; and then we will go and visit the monasteries together!"[1] The venerable person who uttered these words was verging on eighty-five; and during half a century of that period he had been a public man. Among his contemporaries he counted, indeed, many distinguished in all the paths of life, who had filled the highest embassies and the most conspicuous commands, who had discharged the most important trusts, and achieved by land and by sea triumphs which made their names famous throughout the civilized globe; but there was none who could point to such a career as his own!

On the 24th October, Foscari prepared, in deference to a stern necessity, to quit the Palatial abode which he had long learned to regard as his home, and where he had transacted a leading share in so many scenes of lofty and sometimes painful interest. He was attended by his brother Marco, one of the Ten, his old friend Marino Memo, and a few other connexions.

[1] Giorgio Dolfino (*Cronica MS. in the Marcian Museum*), quoted by Romanin (iv. 294).

The Doge declined any support but the walking-stick on which he leaned. He was directing his steps toward the Grand Staircase to descend into the Piazza, when Marco said, "Most Serene, were it not well to go to our gondola by the other stairs, which are covered?" Francesco quickly replied, "I wish to return by that staircase by which I mounted to the Dogate!"[1]

The Electoral Chamber, which had met to deliberate upon the succession, arrived at no decision till Sunday, the last day but one of October; and in the intervening time, Orio Pasqualigo, Senior Privy Councillor, officiated as Vicegerent. On the afternoon of the 30th, at half-past three, Pasquale Malipiero, one of the Procurators of Saint Mark, was pronounced the fortunate candidate, the right to assume the Ducal insignia being reserved, from respect to Foscari, till his decease. Malipiero took possession of the Palace on the same evening at ten o'clock. When Foscari learned the news, he declared (according to report) his approval of the selection, and his satisfaction "that the choice of the Forty had fallen on so worthy a nobleman." The 31st October passed without any fresh incident. On the 1st of the new month, "the Doge Malipiero," says Giorgio Dolfino, "was attending mass in the Cathedral, when Andrea Donato came up to him, and told him that Foscari had expired at one o'clock on that morning."[2] It was supposed, that the immediate

[1] G. Dolfino, as above.

[2] Ibid.

cause of death was a sudden and violent hemorrhage from a cancer formed on the tongue.[1] Malipiero and those with him were struck mute; they seemed to have been deprived of all power of speech; and their looks indicated remorse for the harshness, with which the old man had been treated. His Serenity at once returned to the Palace, and the Council of Ten was convoked for the forenoon. It was ordered "that the lying-in-state and rites of sepulture shall be performed in the same manner as if the departed had died in office." The Dogaressa Nani, who at first demurred, saying, "this was a tardy atonement for passed wrongs, and that she had determined to bury her husband at her own expense, even if she should sell a portion of her dower to defray the cost," was obliged to submit, and to surrender the remains. On the 3rd November, the corpse, enveloped in the Ducal robes, was followed to its resting-place at the Minorites by the Doge Malipiero in the simple costume of a Senator, by all the public Bodies, the Clergy, and the Arts. The bier was supported by mariners under a canopy of cloth-of-gold; and the funeral oration was delivered by Bernardo Giustiniani, the Historian. The magnificent mausoleum subsequently erected to Foscari in the Church of the Frari[2] still remains; but of the group from the chisel of Bartolomeo Buono, in which the Doge is represented praying

[1] Berlan.

[2] This monument, executed by the Rizzi, is copied in Litta in voce *Foscari*.

before the Lion of Saint Mark, a fragment only,[1] the head and shoulders of the principal figure, has outlived the French Revolution.

The Doge Foscari belonged to a family which was among the poorest as well as the most antient in Venice. The successor of Mocenigo had raised himself by his own merits from comparative obscurity to the throne; and during five-and-thirty years it was his destiny to remain First Magistrate of the First Commonwealth in the world. Circumstances unhappily rendered that distinction scarcely an enviable one. The Republic was doomed to experience in his time every species of calamity. The pacific policy which she had previously pursued was in an evil hour abandoned; and her prosperity suffered an instantaneous and continual decline. Trade languished; great firms collapsed; celebrated banks broke. Among other commercial disasters, Andrea Priuli, his Serenity's father-in-law, failed for 24,000 ducats. The Funds which, at the commencement of the Milanese War, stood at 59 or 60, had sunk before its conclusion to 18½! In 1453, Constantinople had been taken by Mohammed II., and Venice was a loser to the extent of 300,000 ducats. The domestic troubles of Foscari, and the sad end of his beloved son Jacopo in 1451, brought his misery almost to a climax. This bereavement, coupled with the painful circumstances attending his abdication, probably

[1] Now, or till lately, in the Marcian Museum. The bust of the Doge was to be engraved for Berlan's *Two Foscari*, 1852; but, so far as the Author knows, it never appeared

produced the hemorrhage, which proved fatal on that November morning!

A TABULAR VIEW of the INCOME and EXPENDITURE in 1454, in Nine of the Thirteen Provinces of the Venetian Empire[1] on the Terra-Ferma.

	Receipts.	Deduction for Collecting, &c.	Net Income.
	Ducats.	Ducats.	Ducats.
The Frioul	7,500	6,330	1,170
Treviso and its District	40,000	10,100	29,900
Padua	65,500	14,000	51,500
Vicenza	34,500	7,600	26,900
Verona	52,500	18,000	34,500
Brescia	75,500	16,000	59,500
Bergamo	25,500	9,500	16,000
Ravenna	9,000	2,770	6,230
Crema	7,400	3,900	3,500
Venice:—			
Salt Department, ... 165,000			
Profits of Loan Chamber 150,000	698,000	99,780	598,720
Other Receipts ... 383,000			
Colonial Taxes	180,000	...	180,000
Other extraordinary Receipts ...	25,000	6,000	19,000
Loans on Demand	15,000	7,500	7,500
Property out of Dogado (Houses, &c.)	5,000	...	5,000
The Clergy	22,000	2,000	20,000
The Jews	600	...	600
Commercial Tenths	16,000	6,000	10,000
Freights, &c.	6,000	4,000	2,000
Exchange (Duty)	20,000	12,000	8,000
Total...	1,305,000	225,480	1,081,520

[1] Sanudo (*Vite*, 964). Feltre, Belluno, Istria and Dalmatia are not here included. No statistics respecting them for this period are known.

CHAPTER XXV.

Venetian Commerce—Its Threefold Character—Maritime Commerce—River, or Inland Commerce — The Carrying Trade — Trading Caravans—Venetian Relations with Great Britain—The Dogate—Peculiar Character of the Ducal Palace—Privy-Purse Expenses, and Domestic Establishment of the Doge—The *Corte* Ducale, or Doge's Court, its Attributes and Jurisdiction—The Excusati Del Ducato—Everyday Life of the Doge—Costume—Inner Life of Venice—Pious and Charitable Institutions—Manufactures—Brass and Iron Foundries—Bells and Organs—Trades—State of the Iron Trade—Houses—Chimneys and Windows—Gardens—Dress—Its Religious Character — The Venetian Colour — Venetian Ladies — Gloves—Method of Eating—Meals—Evening Amusements.

THE commerce of the Republic is[1] susceptible of a distribution into three sections:—I. MARITIME. II. RIVER, or INLAND. III. THE CARRYING TRADE. The origin of the latter, which is unquestionably to be viewed as the most antient, is fixed by a passage in the well-known Letter of Cassiodorus, the Prætorian Prefect, to some epoch slightly anterior to 523, in which year the Venetian Tribunes (*Tribuni Maritimorum*) receive

[1] "L'Europa abbisognava di navigatori, che la providessero delle merci d'Oriente, il cui uso erasi del tutto perduto nel mezzo all' irruzioni de' Barbari. Li presentavono i Veneziani; ed in breve tutto il commercio dell' Occidente concentrossi nelle loro mani. Tutti i mari furono frequentati dai loro vascelli, e nel giro di pochi secoli la loro republica divenne la più forte potenza maritima nell' Europa. Furono si rapidi i loro progressi, che gl' Imperatori d'Oriente si videro costretti ad implorarne l'assistenza fortificandosi colla loro alleanza. I Veneziani purgavano i mari dai Pirati, combattevano i nimici dell' Impero in ogni mare, e godevano in premio d'una illimita libertà di commercio in tutti i porti del Mediterraneo e del Mar Nero."—*Formaleoni.*

a charge to use all possible despatch in transporting certain quantities of wine, oil, and other produce from divers points on the Istrian coast to the royal palace at Ravenna. This traffic as it existed in the time of the Goths, represents the mercantile transactions of the Islanders in their rudest aspect and their earliest stage of development. The carrying trade, like every other branch of Venetian commerce, eventually received enormous extension. The Venetians became the Carriers of the World. During the mediæval period, the postal service which was performed by captains of Venetian argosies or transports, formed the sole channel of communication between the Courts of Germany and Constantinople.

Between the plan which was pursued by the Venetians in the middle ages in regard to the transmission of letters and that which prevails at the present day, some important points of discrepancy existed. The Foreign Post necessarily depended, in the absence of modern appliances, upon sailing vessels. The movements of the Letter-Carrier, who was obliged to make his circuit in a gondola, were regulated to a large extent by the state of the winds and the currents; and in tempestuous weather, the correspondence between Grado and Cavarzero was subject to long and constant interruptions. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, a merchant residing at Venice, who might be desirous of communicating with his agent or with another merchant at Constantinople, never expected to receive an answer in much less than *fifty days*.

A third respect, in which the old Venetian Postal System differed from that in present use was not less curious, though it was of a less essential character. Instead of levying the charge on a stamp, impressed with the head of the reigning Sovereign, it was there the practice to levy it on the *seal*. To superintend the "Sealing Department," certain officers denominated *Bullatori* (Sealers) existed at Venice at least as early as the reign of Pietro Ziani (1205–29); these functionaries were appointed by the Government, and were under its immediate control; and from a passage in the Coronation-Oath of Ziani's successor, Giacomo Tiepolo, it appears that, so far as the circulation of letters in the Dogado itself was concerned, two tariffs were then in force, of which one was for foreigners, and the other for subjects of the Republic. The former was fixed at twelve *Danari Grandi*, or three *Soldi;* the latter did not exceed half that sum.[1] It was not competent for the Bullator to exact any higher rate without special authorization from the Doge in Council. The price demanded for the postage of a letter to a distant station, such, for instance, as Constantinople or Saint Jean d'Acre, where the difficulty of communication was so great, and the intermediate passage occupied so long a space, was probably considerable.

It can hardly be a source of surprise that the

[1] "De Sigillaturâ literarum non faciemus tolli nisi denarios xii. parvulos, et a forinseco soldos tres (sive denarios xii. grandes), salvo quod, si bullata fuerit litera aliqua alicujus magni negotii, nostri Consiliarii possint licentiare bullatorem amplius tollendi, ut nobis et eis videbitur." —(presso Romanin, *Documenti*).

Maritime Commerce should have experienced an early and rapid expansion. Assuredly, if a State ever existed which, in a higher degree than any other, received a spur to industry and enterprise, if one was to be named to which had been given, more distinctly than to any other, a Mission of Commerce, that State was Venice.[1] When the natives of the Terra-Ferma sought shelter in the marshes of Adria in the fifth century, two courses were open to their adoption. On the one hand, they were at liberty to await the moment when the affairs of the Peninsula should be more settled, and then to return to the homes which they had abandoned; on the other, it was placed within their power to retain their independence, to develope their naval and mercantile resources, to render their country a cradle of the Arts, and to become the greatest people in Europe!

Even in the eighth century, the Venetian relations with many distant regions were established on a tolerably sound footing. At that period the Republic maintained more or less constant communication with France, Turkey, and Egypt; and with intermediate

[1] "Aquileia, Opitergio (Oderzo), Altino, Padova, Ateste, Vicenza, Verona, tutte l'altre citta, quante se v'erano nel paese de Veneti, furon prese, saccheggiate, desolate, arse, e rovinate dai fondamenti; gli abitanti infelici senza tetto e senza speranza di risorgere, col terrore alle spalle precipitaronsi in folla negli angusti asili delle lagune; apportandovi le ricchezze sottratte alla rapina, la naturale loro industria, i loro saggi costumi, e la loro religione; e su questi fondamenti stabilirono una nuova Republica, segricati in tal guisa dalle Italiane nazioni, circondati da sempre nuovi nemici, assediati dal bisogni, non restava loro per patrimonio che il mare."—See Formaleoni (*Navigazione degli Antichi nel Mar Nero*, ii. 20–1).

points it may be fairly assumed that she was at least equally familiar. In 827, an edict was published by the Doge Giustiniani Badoer,[1] in which all transactions with Mohammedan countries were temporarily inhibited; and it was in direct violation of this law that the two Venetian traders, who transferred the remains of Saint Mark to Venice two years afterward, were bartering their goods with the Misbelievers on the quay of Alexandria. In 940, a contemporary writer tells us,[2] that the flower of the Greek imperial marine was composed of Venetian and Amalfitan sailors. Thirty-seven years later (977), a colony of Venetians established itself at Limoges, in the department of *Haute-Vienne*, and the street, where the new-comers were located, soon became known as the *Rue des Veniciens*.[3] But it was not till the close of the following century, at least, that the Islanders succeeded in planting similar settlements in the south of France, at Marseilles,[4] at Aiguemortes, at Toulouse, and elsewhere.

During the reign of Orseolo II. (991–1008), the feudal annexation of a large portion of the Dalmatian coast opened a new field to Venetian enterprise; the Islanders, who had already formed emporiums and agencies at Zara, Capo d' Istria, and other leading points, were not remiss in extending and enlarging

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[1] Filiasi (*Memorie*, v. 25).

[2] Liutprand, *Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam*, A.D. 940 (Muratori, ii. 416.)

[3] Allou (*Monumens des Différens Ages observés dans la Haute-Vienne*, p. 12).

[4] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 86, *et seq.*)

their transactions with the newly acquired country; and the impulse thus given was considerably strengthened by the simultaneous establishment of a closer and more intelligible connexion with the Mahommedans of Syria, Egypt, and Barbary, with the petty rulers of the Crimea, and even with Persia.

The precise character of external relations at this distant date constitutes, however, a point on which it is impossible to speak with certainty; and such a circumstance is the more perhaps to be regretted, since, had information been ampler in these respects, it might have been easier to judge how far the earlier Venetian navigators are entitled to the credit of having prepared the way for the more important and notable discoveries of the Zeni and the Poli.

The River, or Inland Commerce became at a very early period, extensive and valuable.[1] The Po, the Tagliamento, the Adige, the Brenta, and other streams, by which the peninsula was watered and fertilized, were soon covered with their cargoes. During the reign of Maurizio Galbaio (764–87), a fair was instituted at Pavia, of which the Venetians enjoyed all but the exclusive benefit. Thither the Lombards of all classes resorted in large numbers. There the courtiers of Charlemagne might often be seen buying mantles of the same hue and pattern which their great master delighted to wear; and there the ladies of Pavia were

[1] "Accedit etiam commodis vestris," writes Cassiodorus (523), "quod vobis aliud iter aperitur, perpetuâ securitate tranquillum: nam cum, ventis sævientibus, mare fuerit clausum, via vobis panditur per amœnissima fluviorum."—(*Opera*, i. 187, edit. 1729.)

sure of meeting with gowns of the newest fashion and of the finest texture.[1] The trade in dresses of silk and cloth-of-gold was almost a monopoly. It was restricted to three markets, Pavia, Olivolo and San Martino, near Malamocco.[2]

At a later epoch (998), the government of Orseolo II. entered into treaties with various Powers, by virtue of which several ports in the Peninsula were opened to Venetian traders on highly advantageous terms to the exclusion of any other Flag. Such became the character of the relations with Gruaro on the Livenza, and with San Michele Del Quarto on the Silis. With Aquileia, Ferrara (1102), Treviso (998), Verona, (1193), and other places, the commercial intercourse of the Republic subsisted on a general footing of permanence and security. In fact, it would be difficult to name any quarter of the Peninsula, into which the Venetians had not penetrated before the end of the twelfth century, and where Venetian imports and manufactures were not admitted under more favourable conditions than those of contemporary mercantile communities.

The unsettled state of Europe in the middle ages, and the scanty respect which was paid to principles of Maritime Law, even where such principles had been introduced, necessitated the establishment by the Venetians, in common with other Commercial Powers, of a system of Annual Trading Caravans. These periodical expeditions, which left Venice between

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 23). [2] Sagorninus (*Chr.* 122–3).

January and September, were under the protection of armed escorts. Their route was laid down with the utmost precision and strictness; and no departure from the sailing instructions was permitted in the absence of an express authorization from the Government. The number of caravans, which were fitted out in the course of a year, depended, however, on circumstances. In times of war and pestilence, it was restricted; at seasons of abundance, when peace prevailed, it exceeded the average. The most celebrated were the "Flanders Galleys," which traded between Bruges and the seaports of France, Spain, Portugal and England; the "Romania Galleys;" the Galleys of Armenia, which visited Aias on the Gulf of Alexandretta; the Galleys of Tana or Azoph, which confined themselves to the commerce of the Euxine, the Sea of Azoph, and the Crimea; and the Galleys of Cyprus and Egypt, whose general destination was Alexandria and Cairo.[1]

It is strange that, while more or less light is thrown by *Arnold's Chronicle, or the Customs of London*, written about 1490, and printed about 1500, as well as by the Fœdera, the Rolls of Parliament, and the Statutes,[2] on the early relations of Lombardy,[3] Hungary, Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Norway, and even Genoa[4] with Great Britain,[5] the

[1] Marin (v. lib. ii. c. 3); Depping (*Commerce du Levant*, i. 156, *et seq.*)

[2] Statutes at Large; edit. 1769: vol. i.; Rymer, vol. i. part 2: edit. 1816; Rolls of Parliament, ii. 32; iii. 48, 159, 429, &c.

[3] Statutes, i. 529, *et alibi*. [4] See also Rastell's *Chronicle*: 1529; p. 219.

[5] Arn. Chr., pp. 6, 101, 111, 117, 189: edit. 1811.

Venetians are not expressly mentioned in that work in any single instance. It is incontestable, nevertheless, that from the reign of John, *at least*, the intercourse of the Republic with those islands was regular and large. Even before the close of the eleventh century, Otho degli Gherardini, a Florentine, settled in England, and became the proprietor of lands in no fewer than eight counties; and it was from this gentleman, that sprang the ancestors of the noble House of Fitzgerald.[1] In 1157, Frederic Barbarossa obtained from Henry II. a mercantile charter;[2] and in 1200, King John declared that "all merchants, of what nation soever, should, with their merchandize, have safe-conduct to pass into England, and to repass thence, and to enjoy in that country the same peace and security as the merchants of England were allowed in the countries from which such merchants came."[3] In 1245, according to the testimony of Walsingham,[4] England began to swarm with Italian placemen, just as in a former age she had swarmed with Norman interlopers; and bitter and loud was the complaint that the foreigners were even absorbing all the richest benefices in the Church. The 17 Edw. I. (1289),[5] which provided for the transport of merchandize out of Ireland into England and Wales, by merchants, aliens, and

[1] *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, by the Marquis of Kildare: 1858; p. 2. This work affords some curious insight into the early relations of England with Ireland and Wales.

[2] Sir H. Nicolas (*Hist. of the Royal* (Eng.) *Navy*, i. 74).

[3] Ibid. i. 157-8.

[4] *Ypodygma Neustriæ*, 1574; p. 60.

[5] Stat., *sub anno*: edit. 1769; vol. i.

others, seems to point to the Venetians without naming them.

The first direct and explicit allusion to Venice in the Public Records of England occurs in 1201,[1] on the 18th of January in which year King John granted to Johannes, the son of Leonardus Sucubus of Venice, and to his heirs, certain commercial privileges of high importance. "Johannes de Venetiâ" and his successors, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, rose to great note and affluence in the island, and acquired, probably by lapse of mortgages, estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, a few of which they appear to have held of the Crown *in capite*, some by sergeanty, and the rest in the more usual method. Among these lands are named Westham in Essex, Estwoldham in Hampshire, and Draycot in Wiltshire, for the last of which they paid annually seven pounds and seven shillings to the King.[2] During the reign of Edward III., other instances are known of Venetians becoming landed proprietors in England; and it is consequently matter of some surprise, that the earliest example found of naturalization happened only in 1430, when Gabriel Corbet, a Venetian, and of Southampton, mariner, was admitted to the rights of a denizen of that place, on payment of a reasonable fine into Chancery.[3]

[1] *Rolls of Charters in the Tower of London*, vol. i. part 1.

[2] *Rotulorum Orig. Abbrev.*, i. 192; ii. 2, 145, 198; *Rolls of the Hundreds*, i. 152; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen. III.; *Pipe Rolls of the Exch.*, 3 John; *Chancery Roll*, 3 John.

[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 386.

The treaties of commerce between the Plantagenets and the Signory date so far back as 1304; and from that epoch the intimacy sensibly increased. The "Flanders Galleys," on their homeward route,[1] came to London, Dartmouth, Plymouth,[2] Sandwich, Southampton, Rye, and Lynn, and exchanged alum, glass, silk, drapery, sugar, wines, confectionery, and even wood for tin, wool, iron,[3] hides, and other staples. In 1472, an Act of Parliament (12 Edward IV.), which was most probably a simple reproduction of a much older measure, compelled the Venetian merchants to bring with each butt of wine, containing from 126 to 140 gallons, "four good bowstaves" gratuitously, under penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* for all butts sought to be imported without such staves; and this trade, indeed, was so profitable to the Republic that her subjects consented at an early date to accept as payment one-third in cash, and two-thirds in cloth. But the foreigners soon discovered that, while they were giving their customers 135 or 140 gallons to the butt, instead of 126,[4] the English were cheating them outrageously, and were palming on them, "cloths of the which a great part be broken, broused, and not agreeing in the colour, neither be according to breadth, nor in no manner to the part of the same cloths shewed outwards, but be falsely wrought with divers wools to the great deceit, loss, and damage of the people, in so

[1] *Instructions for the Flanders Galleys*, 1337–8: *Misti Senato* (quoted at length by Romanin, iii. 376–84).

[2] *Proceedings of the Privy Council of England*, i. 120.

[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, iii. 48. [4] *Statutes at Large*, 1 Rich. III.

much that the merchants that buy the same cloths, and carry them out of the realm to sell to strangers, be many times in danger to be slain!" Of this gross and abominable fraud the sufferers were not slow to complain to the Crown; and in 1389 (13 Richard II). an Act appeared, by which "it was ordained and assented, that no plain cloth, tacked nor folded, shall be set to sale within the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, *Bristol*, and Gloucester, but that they be opened, upon pain to forfeit them, so that the buyers may see them, and know them, as it is used in the County of Essex; and that the workers, weavers, and fullers shall put their seals to every cloth that they shall work, upon a certain pain, to be limited by the justices of the peace." This legislation by no means extinguished the grievance; declaratory statutes were made from time to time, but without effect; and at length, the Venetians declined to give any bonus, or take the bad cloth of England, in payment for their own genuine import.[1]

In 1319,[2] an Ambassador was, by virtue of a decree of the Pregadi, despatched to London, to demand re-

[1] The passion of the Duke of Clarence for Malmsey is well known. It is mentioned in two passages in *Richard III.*:—

"*First Murd.*—Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword; and then throw him into the malmsey butt in the next room.

"*Second Murd.*—O excellent device! and make a sop of him."——
(Act i. sc. 4.)

"*First Murd.*—Take that, and that. If all this will not do,
I'll drown you in the malmsey butt within."——

In the second part of *Hen. IV.*, Act ii. sc. 1, the *Hostess* calls *Bardolph* a "malmsey-nose knave;" and in *Love's Labour Lost*, v. 2 (edit. Hazlitt), malmsey is mentioned as a table-wine.

[2] Marin (v. 304), and *vide suprâ*, cap. 17.

dress for certain damage inflicted upon two Venetian galleons on the high seas by English cruisers; and letters sealed with wax were issued shortly afterward by Edward II. for the security of the "Flander's Galleys!"[1] Among other points, the syndic accredited to the Court of Edward was directed to propose the establishment of a Consulate in the British metropolis; and even if such an object was not immediately achieved, it is indisputable that such an institution was in existence at no distant period.

In 1371, Edward III., at the prayer of the Doge Andrea Contarini, accorded a safe-conduct to all Venetian subjects in the English and Flemish seas.[2] In 1400, some merchants of Venice were charged with an attempt to pass their money at a higher rate than was legal; the King, who was from London, minuted to the Privy Council, "that the merchants should be treated with gentleness, but that the law must be enforced."[3]

During the War of Chioggia, William Gould, William Cook, John Berkit, an individual, whose baptismal name we find distorted into *Cantaletto*, and two knights, Sir Walter and Sir Benedict, were among those who entered the service of the Signory.[4] With the exception of Gould, they distinguished themselves by their blustering and litigious disposition, no less than by their great courage; and, on one occasion, the Doge

[1] Marin (v. 313).
[2] *Patent Rolls*, 44 Edw. III.
[3] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, i. 120.
[4] Romanin (iii. 288–92).

was obliged to summon them to the deck of his galley, and to harangue them.[1] Gould's share of spoil after the recovery of Chioggia which the countrymen of *Cantaletto*, retaliating upon the Republic, corrupted into *Chose*,[2] amounted to 500 ducats of gold.[3] In 1392,[4] Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, passed through Venice on his way to Jerusalem, and was honourably entertained by the Doge Antonio Veniero, who went some distance by water to meet the Earl; and it is related by Rastell, in the *Chronicle* which was printed by his brother, or himself, in 1529,[5] how the Dukes of Norfolk and Hertford in the last year of Richard II. (1399) were expelled from the realm, and how Mowbray, the "banish'd Norfolk" of Shakspeare—

> "retired himself
> To Italy, and there, at Venice, gave
> His body to that pleasant country's earth."[6]

In October of the same year, the Duke of Lancaster, on his accession to the throne of England as Henry IV., hastened to notify the auspicious event to the reigning Doge Antonio Veniero in a letter, dated the 4th of the month, and to offer sundry preferential exemptions to Venetian traders.[7] The first European prince who, after the Battle of Bosworth, offered his congratulations to the Earl of Richmond, was the Doge Agostino Barbarigo.

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[1] Romanin (iii. 288–92).
[2] *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, A.D. 1506, p. 6.
[3] Romanin (iii. 292).
[4] Capgrave (*Lives of the Illustrious Henries*, Latin orig., p. 100).
[5] Reprint, p. 237. [6] *Rich. II.*, Act. iv. scene 1: edit. Hazlitt.
[7] Romanin (iii. 334).

In 1408, three Venetian galleys, having neglected[1] to discharge arrears of fiscal duties, were, after a certain term of grace, forfeited to the King; and the owners were compelled to redeem their property with a fine of 2,000 marks. Of this proceeding the defaulters addressed a complaint to their Government; and the latter sent Fra Hieronimo, and subsequently Antonio Bembo *Miles*, to London, to investigate the matter, and, if the circumstances warranted such a course, to require satisfaction. The commission of Bembo was dated the 30th April, 1409.[2] The instructions of the Envoy were, upon his arrival in London, to call upon *the Vice-Consul there* (*de inde*), and to assemble at his house the Committee of Merchants, to whom he was to explain the motive of his journey, and to take counsel as to the ways and means to be pursued in seeking an audience of his Majesty. In case our Lord the King happened to be from London, the Committee had power to determine the number of horses and servants which should be

[1] *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii. 77–8; *Issues of the Exchequer for* 1409 (Lond. 1837: 4°). "To Hugh Helwys, a notary public. In money paid to his own hands by consideration of the Treasurer and the Chamberlain for making and writing out an instrument made between our Lord the King (Henry IV.) and three owners and other good merchants belonging to three Venetian galleys, which arrived at the Port of London in the tenth year (1409)," &c. A nearly similar case occurred 3 Hen. VI. (*Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii. 122).

[2] *Commissione d'Ambasciata di Antonio Bembo a Londra*, Aprilis die ult. 1409 (presso Romanin, *Documenti*, iii. No. 8). "We, Michele Steno, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice, &c., commit to you, the noble Antonio Bembo *Milite*, our well-beloved fellow-citizen, the task of going as our solemn Orator and Vice-Captain of our Galleys, to London, to the presence of the Most Serene Lord the King of England."

accorded to his Excellence; "but," says the Doge, in so many words, "you shall not take with you more than ten horses. For our purpose is, that all the outlay to which you may be put, in excess of your salary and a certain limited expenditure, shall be placed to the account of the merchandize which is taken to Bruges and London, and from London and Bruges to Venice." His Excellence was also reminded that it might possibly occur that the points, which he had it in charge to bring under the royal notice, would be referred to the General Parliament, "which Parliament," it is said, "meets about the middle of September;" and in such an event he was enjoined to consult the Committee upon his stay in the capital. "That you may be in a better position to attain your object in the Parliament or otherwise," continued the Doge, "you ought to employ some one good and efficient lawyer, to whom you must pay such fees as are just and reasonable. After the delivery of your credentials, you will call to the mind of his Majesty, how in the year just passed (1408), on the occasion of an innovation (*novitatis*) put into practice against our galleys, and merchants, and merchandize in the port of London, we sent to his Palace the most reverend father Fra Hieronimo, professor of divinity, as our ambassador for the redress of our complaints and the restitution of our property, from whose report we feel assured that the King's Majesty is, as he ever was, benignly disposed toward us, our merchants, and subjects. We charge you to make terms with

Richard Stile, the customer (custom-house officer), because we are informed that, if the difference with him were settled, it would facilitate the adjustment of the difficulty. You will demand reparation for the noble Giovanni Zane, in such manner as shall appear to you most expedient. You will try to procure an understanding that, if any of our citizens, subjects, or lieges, receive from any subjects of the King in London or (other parts of) England, goods for which he may omit to pay, our other citizens shall not on this account be molested, seeing that it is unjust that one should suffer for another.[1] We have confided to your care some donations for the most Serene King, and certain other English noblemen, which you will be so good as to present forthwith upon your arrival in London. Your allowance for this your embassy and vice-captaincy will be 400 ducats, of which the Masters of Galleys will contribute 100, and our Commune 100, and of which the remainder will be defrayed out of the London Trade Account; and you will be our Vice-Captain, in the same manner and under the same conditions *as our other Vice-Captains at London* (in former times); and it shall be lawful for you neither to engage in mercantile transactions at London, nor to employ any one to do so on your behalf." Such was the commission directed by the Doge Steno to his "well-beloved" Antonio Bembo *Miles*.

It is to be collected that Fra Hieronimo had already

[1] It was contrary to 27 Edw. III. c. 17.

contrived to put the matter in good train, when his successor reached the Thames about the first week in June, 1409.[1] It was reserved for Bembo to complete a negotiation which was evidently proceeding with a halting pace, to impart stability to the relations between the two Powers, and to obtain guarantees for the future; and it is highly probable that, even in the absence of any other motives, the vital interest which the English, and the town of Southampton especially, had in the uninterrupted maintenance of the Venetian trade with their ports, was instrumental in securing a compliance with the wishes of the Republic. In 1412, the Venetian Company of London lent the King 200*l.* toward the outlay attendant upon his expedition for the recovery of Guienne; and 200 marks were given in the same year for a similar purpose.[2] In 1415, when Henry V. was preparing to invade France, he had recourse, among other expedients, to pecuniary loans on the part of towns and private individuals; and among the royal creditors were Nicolo Molini and his Venetian fraternity who, under the pressure of a threat that, if they were contumacious, his Majesty would commit them to the Fleet, till "he heard a different account,"[3] advanced Henry 1,000*l.* On the same occasion, the Genoese contributed 1,200*l.*, and those of Lucca, 200*l.*[4]

[1] Sir Richard Guildford tells us in his *Pilgrimage*, 1506, that he was five weeks and three days sailing from England to Venice (p. 81); and "from Englonde to Venyce," he says (p. 82), "is vii. c. myle."

[2] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ii. 32.

[3] Ibid. (ii. 214).

[4] Ibid (ii. 165–6).

There is, perhaps, no passage in antient English literature which illustrates so well the history of medieval Maritime Warfare, or establishes more triumphantly the early origin of the connexion between the British Isles and Lombardy, including Venice, than one which is found in *Arnold's Chronicle*:—

"Of Marchauntis Aliens:

"Ale marchauntis, but yf they wer openly afore forboden, shall have sauf and suer conduyte to goo fro Englād, and to com into England, and dwell, and goo bi England as wel bi lande as by water to bey and to selle without all evil tollis, and by OLDE and right usagis; an take (save) that i tyme of warre, and yf (they) be of lande of warre ageinst us, and such be founde in our land in the begynnynge of warre, (they shall) be atached without harme of body or goodis, til it be known of us, or of our chief iustices, how y marchantis be entreted the whiche be founde in the lande, and agenst us in the lande of warre; and yf our folke be sauf there, sauf be other in our lande!"

At the same time, although Shakspeare, through the mouth of the Duke of York,[1] speaks—

> "Of fashions of proud Italy,
> Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
> Limps after in base imitation—"

England had no particular reason to gaze with envy on the prosperity of the Great Republic. The household books and rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth

[1] *Rich. II.*, Act ii. sc. 1: edit. Hazlitt.

centuries clearly shew that the position of the wealthier classes in that country was then remarkably opulent.[1] An old poem by Richard of Maidstone, who died in 1396, commemorates the profuse expenditure, sumptuous habits, and rich costume of the Londoners of that period.[2] An Italian of rank, who visited London, as well as Oxford and other towns both in England and Scotland, about 1500, has left a graphic and glowing account of the condition of the metropolis itself in the days of Henry VII.[3] In the Strand alone, he assures us that there were fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that "in all the shops of Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, there were not so many!"[4] "There is no small innkeeper," he continues, "*however poor and humble* he may be, *who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking cups*, and *no one* who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of 100*l.* sterling, which is equivalent to 500 gold crowns among us."[5] In 1507, the daughter of Henry VII.,

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[1] *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford*, 1289-90 (Camden Soc., 1854); *Liber Quotidianus Edwardi Primi*, 1769: 4°; *Manners and Household Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Roxb. Club, 1841); *Privy Purse Expenses of Edward IV. and Elizabeth of York:* Lond., 1830; 8°; *Camden Miscellany*, vol. iii.

[2] Ricardi Maydiston, *Concordiæ inter Reg. Ricard. II. et Civitatem London.* (Camd. Soc. 3, 1838).

[3] *Relation of the Island of England* (Camd. Soc. 37).

[4] Page 42-3. He speaks of the riches of England as greater than those of any other country in Europe; and as arising, to a large extent, from her enormous trade in tin and wool.

[5] Page 28-9

the Lady Mary, was married to the Prince of Castile, Archduke of Austria; and the splendid "Solemnities and Triumphs" celebrated on that occasion are described in a tract which was printed in the same year.[1] The English experiences of Sebastiano Giustiniani, whose embassy extended from 1515 to 1519, have been published; and it was only in 1520 that the pageant of "the Field of Cloth-of-Gold" gave the Venetian ambassadors, who accompanied the King with twenty-three servants and eleven horses,[2] so exalted a conception of the magnificence of the Court of Henry VIII.

Prior to the institution of the Dogate, the Venetian islands formed a Federative State, united by the memory of a common origin and the sense of a common interest; the Arrengo, which met, at irregular intervals, to deliberate on matters of public concern, was too numerous and too schismatical to exercise immediate control over the nation; and each island was consequently governed, in the name of the people, by a gastaldo or tribune, whose power, nominally limited, was virtually absolute. This administration lasted nearly two centuries and a half, during which period Venice passed through a cruel ordeal of anarchy, oppression, and bloodshed. The tribunes conspired against each other; the people rebelled against the tribunes. Family rose against family, sect

[1] *London*, by Richard Pinson: 4° (reprinted for the Roxburgh Club, 1818: 4°).

[2] *Rutland Papers*, p. 33: Lond., 1842; 4° (Camd. Soc.)

against sect; and the spirit of partisanship soon grew stronger than the spirit of patriotism. In course of time, every man became less a Venetian than an Heraclian or an Equilese; and he learned to think that it was less disgraceful to betray his country, than to desert his faction. In spite, however, of its feeble and despotic nature, the power of the Gastaldi flourished till the close of the seventh century; and the first measure, tending to impair their influence, was adopted only in 697, in which year, the people, thinking perhaps that it was less difficult to bear, as well as more easy to punish, the tyranny of one than the tyranny of many, assembled at Heraclia on the invitation of the Patriarch of Grado, and elected Paolo Luca Anafesto, a citizen of that place, Chief of the Tribunes, and Doge of Venice.

Subsequently to 697, it was usual for each householder in Venice to set apart, for the use of the State, the tithe of his income; and this contribution consisting, if in kind, of honey, oil, wine, salt, fish, poultry, and other useful commodities, was consigned to the Ducal fisc, which formed, in that primitive age, the sole public treasury.[1] The revenue, which the Chief Magistrate derived from the payment of tithes, was, however, scanty and precarious; the citizens often neglected to discharge, the early Doges sometimes felt it injudicious, sometimes they found it impracticable, to enforce the demands of the assessors; and the necessity consequently arose of having recourse to a

[1] *Chronica della Magnifica Citta di Venezia*, fol. 25 (King's MSS. 150).

private trade in time of peace, and to a voluntary or even compulsory loan in time of war. It seems impossible to contemplate without interest a community originally so rude, so deficient in any system of financial or political economy, so ignorant of constitutional principles, yet working out with such indefatigable assiduity the twin problems of European civilization and its own greatness. Venice began to labour in the solitary paths of commerce, while a fog still enveloped the unregenerated earth; she toiled in the darkness, unobserved, with keen instincts, and lofty if not noble aspirations. She had a soul, which thirsted for gain, and panted for knowledge; a heart which was steeled against adversity and disappointment; her sons ploughed unknown seas, and penetrated into unexplored regions, in the pursuit of wealth and the means of wealth; and when the night at length passed away, and the morning broke in dazzling radiance, men witnessed the transformation of a few scattered villages into a great City, and of a humble commonwealth of coasting traders into a cosmopolitan society of merchant-princes!

War, however, was a rare contingency. The Venetians quickly discovered, how imperative it was upon a mercantile community to exhibit a placable spirit in their intercourse with strangers: nor were the islanders unsuccessful in general in maintaining relations of amity with the Lombard Kings, the Free Towns on the Gulf, and with the petty princes of Dalmatia and Croatia.

In the same manner as the abode of the Chief Magistrate in many other countries during the middle ages, the Ducal Palace was one of the leading institutions of the Republic. In the Palace, the confines of which were protected by a rude mural fortification, was transacted, under ordinary circumstances, all the business of the State. It was the residence of the Doge, the radiating point round which the whole machinery of the Venetian government centrifugally revolved. In its apartments, imperfectly furnished and imperfectly ventilated, ambassadors and deputations were received; from it all treaties and solemn instruments were usually dated. The Palace had its own Court, which was the highest judicial tribunal known to the law; and its own Fisc, which remained, during many centuries, the national exchequer. Special by-laws regulated its internal economy, and took cognizance of offences perpetrated within its precincts. To its use a special gondola service was appropriated. Here the Ducal Notary, in an illiterate age a functionary of considerable eminence: the Chancellor of the Ducal Hall, to whom was confided the custody of the principal seal of the Doge; and the privileged body of Militia, the *Excusati del Ducato*, had their peculiar seat. Under the same roof was a Chapel, where religious worship was daily celebrated before the Ducal family and establishment; a kitchen, with all its appurtenances; a well, an armoury, and a store magazine. Thus the low and irregular pile of buildings, which became known toward the tenth or

eleventh century as Saint Mark's, almost constituted antiently a small city within a greater; and hence it arose that, in the frequent political convulsions by which Venice was torn in the early period of her history, the Ducal residence occupied so prominent a place, and that so much stress was laid by the revolutionists on the mastery of that situation. Hence, too, proceeded the statute of 976, which punished with no ordinary severity the authors of riots and disturbances in Saint Mark's, and which sought to provide a seasonable remedy for the evil, which had already come to so rank a growth in the Palace-Revolutions of medieval France.

The establishment of fixed principles for the regulation of the Household and Privy-Purse expenses of the Doge, cannot be referred with safety to a period anterior to the thirteenth century. But, nevertheless, there can be little hesitation in believing that the supersession of the primitive method of supporting the dignity of the Crown, which prevailed in the time of Paolo Luca Anafesto and his immediate successors, occurred much earlier. At a later epoch, it became the practice to allow out of the Fisc a sum of 3,000 *lire* (*libræ*), per mensem, for the purpose of meeting the ordinary current expenditure of the Crown (1262). This money was placed in the office of the Procuratie of Saint Mark to the credit of the Doge and his Privy Council, who were authorized to draw upon this fund as occasion might require. Under ordinary circumstances, it was usual to prepare

a monthly, or at least quarterly schedule, shewing in detail the items of expenditure, with the difference or excess; and there is some reason to believe that this branch of the public accounts was regularly audited at intervals of three months. During the reign of Reniero Zeno, therefore (1252–68), the total annual grant for a service which has been termed elsewhere, in a somewhat more extended sense, the Civil List, was 36,000 *lire*—a much smaller amount than the hire of the vessels which conveyed Saint Louis to Africa in 1268; and a similar estimate might not improbably be found to apply in an equal degree to any given year of the thirteenth century.

The jurisdiction of the Doge's Court (*Corte Ducale*), in which his Serenity himself, by a mere legal fiction, perhaps, officiated as President, and which had its sittings in the Palace, was not less extensive at and long after its foundation than the old English *Curia* or *Aula Regis*, which it resembled in another particular, namely, its liability to follow the Doge from one residence to another. Like all institutions of the kind in the middle ages, this Court united in its attributes the judicial and legislative capacities; and the necessary consequence was, that a vast and indeed undefined authority was vested in that tribunal. Gradually, however, it lost this moveable quality, and its multifarious functions were diverted into other channels by the creation of distinct and stationary Courts of Law. The office of *Judex Communis*, or Judge of the Commune, was one of considerable antiquity. The name

occurs so far back as the eighth century; and it is by no means unlikely that this magistrate was, among the Venetians of that day, the interpreter of a Common Law compounded, on the same principle as elsewhere, of immemorial customs and usages derived, for the most part, from those of the Veneti, the Goths, and the Lombards: while, on the other hand, they were in a few instances nothing more than dormant or unreclaimed portions of the Civil Law itself. At a comparatively early date, a *Criminal Court* was established in the capital of the Republic, consisting of forty persons (who sat perhaps alternately or by rotation), and thence designated the QUARANTIA. Nor is it possible to believe that a State with a daily-increasing population, and a peculiarly deep interest in the prompt and effectual administration of justice, remained long without certain tribunals for the redress of civil injuries, defective as those tribunals were apt to be at the outset. As the aristocratic jealousy of the monarchical power of the Crown became in course of time more and more strong, the decline of the Ducal Court, and the gradual loss of many of the high and dangerous attributes with which it had been clothed in the first instance, would naturally be viewed by the Venetian Nobles, as a class, with more than complacency. The epoch in the Venetian annals, which witnessed the decay of the ambulatory *Curia Ducis* and the partition of its more leading functions among several distinct and stationary tribunals, bears some analogy to that epoch in the history of English progress, which

witnessed the establishment of the Common Pleas at Westminster; and it is instructive to contrast the different influence which the same court exercised in the two countries. In England, it favoured the first growth of popular institutions. At Venice, it laid the first foundation of the patrician and oligarchical government!

While the Ducal Court still continued to be a Court of Circuit, the practice was, that his Serenity or his representatives should make a progress through the Dogado at stated intervals by water, and should disembark at the dwelling of any citizen, where previous notice had been given of a wish to go to law on some civil question. If it was summer, the case was heard under the portico of the mansion; in the colder season, the Court probably adjourned to one of the apartments. After the Revolution of 1172, an usage arose that, whenever the Doge presided in person, a fine should be paid into Court by one or both of the litigants, as a guarantee against bad faith, and that the amount should be recoverable by appeal to the Great Council. The violent end of Michieli III., and the perturbed condition of the Republic at that period, will explain such a custom.

The Domestic Establishment, which the Doge was expected to maintain, was not framed in the first instance on a very large or expensive scale. It consisted of a staff of twenty servants (*servi*), inclusively of those who were employed in the culinary department. It is illustrative of the minute detail to which

the early Venetian Constitution descended, that whenever a domestic quitted the service, it was one of the minor obligations[1] imposed on the Doge by his Coronation-Oath, not to leave the place unsupplied beyond a month from the creation of the vacancy.

A privileged Body, denominated the EXCUSATI DEL DUCATO,[2] whose origin was probably coëval with the Dogate itself, attended the First Magistrate on all occasions of public solemnity; they formed his retinue and guard of honour. The number of the Excusati exceeded not 200, of whom 130 were ordinarily on duty in the interior of the Palace;[3] and the division of the body into *Maggiori* and *Minori* implied a claim, on its part, to certain valuable franchises, among which were included a partial exemption from the payment of tithes, and a free grant of land.

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[1] Si quis (servus) defecerit vel recesserit a nostro servitio bonâ fide sine fraude, alium suo loco infrâ unum mensem recuperare debemus—*Promission of the Doge Giacomo Tiepolo*, A.D. 1229 (*presso* Romanin).

[2] The Excusati (excused) of the Republic, bore some likeness to the *Excusadi* of Spain; the Scotish Archers of Louis XI.; the Varangians of Constantinople; and the Yeomen of the Guard of Henry VII. of England.

[3] "Trovo," says Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, vi. 242: ed. 1663, 4°), "in una antica scrittura queste rubriche:

Excusati de Muriano et eorum nomina,	et sunt 44
Excusati de Mazzorbo et isti sunt de *Majoribus* (Maggiori)	et sunt 23
Excusati de Torcello	et sunt 9
Excusati de Costanciaco	et sunt 19
Excusati de Prioratu Lovoli	et sunt 19
Hæc sunt nomina Excusatorum, qui serviunt in Palatio	et sunt 124
Nomina Excusatorum Nostri Palatii ...	et sunt 198

By his Coronation-Oath his Serenity was specially bound to hold in respect the privileges and immunities of the Excusati; to refrain, unless sufficient cause could be shown to the contrary, from hindering the members of the Corps in the exercise of any Trade or *Art*, to which they might have been called; and not to exact from them any service whatever beyond such as was prescribed by the laws and *traditional usages* of the Dogado.[1]

Each Island was required to provide a fixed number of barks and gondoliers, for the service of the Doge, who employed them in the transport of merchandize from one point to another, or as a means of conveyance, whenever he might feel disposed to proceed on a visit to an adjoining island.

The Doge used to rise early. His first duty was attendance at the service of Mass, which was performed every morning in his own private chapel; and he afterward proceeded to apply his attention to his magisterial functions. Accompanied by his notary who, in those unlettered ages, was almost invariably a churchman, he either presided over his own Court at the Palace, or, if no cases of importance happened to be pending there, he was present at the sittings of one of the other tribunals, or of the *Placitum Publicum*,

[1] De Excusatis Nostri Ducatus nullum servitium amplius inquirere debeamus, nisi quantum Nostris predecessoribus per bonam consuetudinem in Nostro Palatio fecerunt; et quandocumque pergere voluerint ad negociandum negocia sua, absque omni contradictione pergere debeant, nisi per Nos remanserit, et per majorem partem Concilii Nostri aut per publicum interdictum.—*Prom. of Tiepolo*, 1229 (*presso* Romanin).

which used to be held like that of the Romans and Lombards under the open sky. It was a characteristic which the Doge had in common with the Rulers of all nascent States, that he combined in his own person the chief judicial with the chief executive and even legislative authority. From time to time, he was in the habit of paying a visit of inspection and inquiry to the several islands, which lay around the capital, in order that he might be in a position to check abuses, and to prevent any arbitrary stretches of power on the part of the Tribunes and other subordinate members of the Government. Occasionally it was his practice to shew himself formally in public, and to give his benediction to the assembled people; and when it happened that the fulfilment of his multifarious avocations admitted relaxation and mental repose, his Serenity sometimes took gondola, and followed the chase in the woods of Loredo.

In the infancy of the Republic, the Doge was held to be the Fountain and Mirror of Justice; and not only was any question, which a Judge of the Commune might feel himself incompetent to decide, referable in the last resort to the Throne, but in all instances, where a suitor or a prisoner might have reasonable grounds for disputing a judicial award, a right of appeal lay in the same quarter. An exception, indeed, cannot but seem to have existed to the general rule in the case of the Judges of the Palace who, forming the Corte Ducale, or *Curia Ducis*, over which his Serenity himself was in the habit of presiding, were necessarily

final in their judgments. There could hardly be an appeal to the Doge from the Doge. It was from the Curia Ducis that flowed for the most part the legal and judicial doctrines, which constituted the Common Law of Venice.

Even in the earliest times, the Ducal costume[1] was not without splendour. The Berretta (*Beretum*) or Bonnet, which seems to have borne a close resemblance to the diadem of the Kings of antient Phrygia, was a high round cap, of conical form, not unsimilar to the episcopal mitre: it was composed of rich materials, most frequently of crimson or purple velvet; the apex was studded with pearls or precious stones, and it was surmounted by a plain rim of gold.[2] Underneath the Berretta, the chief magistrate wore a white linen coif, in order that, as a mark of the peculiarly exalted dignity of his office, his head might remain covered, when the bonnet itself was removed. A doublet of red velvet, with straight sleeves tapering toward the wrist, and a high collar, was in part hidden by an outer mantle sometimes curiously figured, which descended almost to the feet, with a border of gold fringe and a small circular clasp of gold. A sable cape, red stockings, and shoes of a somewhat primitive pattern, completed his attire. In the drawing from which the present description is borrowed, the hands are not

[1] The drawing of *An Antient Doge* is copied from Mutinelli (*Del Costume Veneziano:* 1831).

[2] The Berretta was at last made so weighty, that the Doge seldom wore it. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, the Procurators of Saint Mark were charged to remedy this evil.

A DOGE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(*From* MUTINELLI.)

gloved. On festivals and solemn occasions, the Doge was even more magnificently clad. His brows were encircled by a gold crown blazing with jewels. His doublet and cloak were of cloth-of-gold. Before him a page carried a cushion of the same material, and a Venetian of gentle blood bore the Sword of State.[1]

Subsequently to the twelfth century, the whole costume, and the form of the Berretta or Corno especially, underwent several variations; and, so far as the headdress itself was concerned, those variations were, to some extent, symbolical of the changes which, at successive periods, affected the authority of the Chief Magistrate. As the personal power and influence of the latter gradually suffered a decline, the Crown gradually lost that conical form and that sacred type, which it possessed in the primitive times, when Venice boasted some similitude to a patriarchal government, and her Doge was the Father of the People![2]

So little is known of the Badoer and Sanudo dynasties of Venetian Doges, that they seem to belong to an Age of Fable rather than to an Age of History. They are nearly as legendary as the monarchs of the early Anglo-Saxon period. Their existence is airy and incorporeal. They come and depart like phantoms. Their antecedents and character are equally

[1] M. da Canale, *Cronaca Veneta* (scritta 1267); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. 273.

[2] Pietro Giustiniani (*Istorie*, lib. i. edit. 1560); *Reipublicæ Constitutio*, fol. 29 (Harl. MSS. 4743); Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. xi. *passim*); Filiasi (*Memorie Storiche*, v. 180, 190, 301).

hidden from our knowledge; and their portraits,[1] which have been handed down, are probably no less apocryphal than those of the first line of Scotish Kings. They enter the stage, clothed with all the virtues which should adorn their exalted station, live their day, and after a certain lapse of time, retire into a convent, or succumb to a faction. Thus they leave no enduring impression behind them; and the attempt to know something more of these mythical and shadowy personages than their warlike achievements, to acquire an insight into their every-day life, and to obtain a glimpse of their human instincts and sympathies, must be abandoned from a sheer conviction of its hopelessness. We seek living men, and we find statues!

Venice was almost from the beginning a place of universal resort, the Goshen of Italy. At Venice was to be purchased every article of use, luxury, or ornament. Here might be found shopkeepers, manufacturers and contractors of every class, who were ready to execute orders of any description. On her quays, captains of vessels were continually waiting to receive cargoes and passengers. In those streets, sailors and mechanics, the workmen at the glass-furnaces, and the operatives at the Arsenal, busy townfolk, and curious strangers, were to be seen at all times hurrying to and fro in a

[1] *Serie de' Dogi di Venezia intagliati in rame da Antonio Nani;* Venezia, 1840, fol. The portraits of the Doges, from Anafesto downward, are also found in Fougasse (*General Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice;* Englished by W. Shute: Lond., G. Eld., 1612, fol. 2 vols.); and in Vianoli (*Historia Veneta;* 1680–1: 2 vols.) Upon the latter, Nani professes to have partly based his work.

confused throng from the break of day, when the Bell at the Campanile (beneath which were the counters of the money-changers) summoned the artificers in the employment of Government to their labours, till sunset.

The floating population of such a City was of course enormous. Multitudes were constantly arriving or on their departure.[1] Whether the visitor to Venice was a pilgrim, who desired to take his passage in a vessel bound for the Holy Land, or a foreign merchant, who had come to attend the Fair at Murano, or some devout person, who wished to join in the celebration of the Feast of Corpus-Christi, it mattered little. On landing at the Piazza of Saint Mark, he was sure of meeting with one of the Commissaries (*Sensali* or *Messeti*[2]), who were bound to be in constant attendance on that spot, and whom he engaged to provide him with a lodging, to change his money, and to perform any other service which he might require. It was the business of the Commissary to protect his employer against fraudulent innkeepers, and to caution him against the deceitful practices of sea-captains: if he was detected in an act of dishonesty, or in a dereliction of his duty, or if he was charged with a misdemeanor of any kind, the Messeto was liable to a penalty of not less than half a ducat. It was the province of a particular department of the Public Service (*Messet-*

[1] Sanudo Torsello (*Letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna*, March, 1326; *G. D. per Francos*, ii. 304).

[2] Marin (v. 181).

aria[1]) to take cognizance of the proceedings of this body of officials, as well as to examine and regulate the charges of hostelries, and, generally, to see that no imposition was practised with impunity on unsuspecting travellers. The Commissary was under oath to accept or solicit employment only at the hands of strangers, or of members of the Venetian clergy and nobility.

The Venetian Hotels were very antient and very celebrated. The leading establishments of this kind in the fourteenth century were *the Moon*, the *White Lion*, and the *Wild Savage*. The first-named was flourishing in 1319, the second, in 1324; and the "Wild Savage" was a famous resort for travellers, who could afford to pay well, in the time of the Doge Andrea Contarini (1368). In the following century, *the Pilgrim*, the *Little Horse*, *the Capello*, and *the Rizza*, are mentioned in the Books of the Procuratie of Saint Mark. In 1484, the concourse of strangers at a tournament, held in that year, was so vast, that all the hotels were filled, and permission was given to private householders to let their apartments furnished. After 1280, and perhaps earlier, it became the business of the Police to take care by personal inspection that hotel-keepers provided proper beds and clean sheets and coverlets, and duly attended to the comforts of their visitors.[2]

There were many posts which were less lucrative

[1] The supervision of all mercantile contracts likewise came within the cognizance of this Department.—Marin (v. 181).

[2] Romanin (iv. 492).

than that of Sensale. Not a single day elapsed without witnessing the landing of a large number of persons at the Piazza on business of various kinds. Sometimes it happened that an ambassador and his suite came, and wished to secure berths in a vessel about to leave for Constantinople. From time to time, a Royal or Pontifical visit, or a Coronation, or Ducal wedding, was the means of providing profitable employment for every Commissary in the City. But the cause, which more than any other contributed to swell the floating population, was the periodical recurrence of Fairs and Holy Festivals, when the gathering of strangers from every part of the adjoining Terra-Ferma was beyond all belief. One year, during the reign of Pietro Tradenigo (860), was recollected, when the frost was so severe, that the visitors to the annual fairs were able to cross on foot, or come in carriages, instead of employing boats.

From those twin scourges of the Middle Ages, Plague and Famine, which were largely due to an ignorance of agriculture, to the slowness of intercommunication, and to the stagnation of trade, even Venice herself enjoyed not an exemption. Her experiences of them, though less severe, were far from being uncommon. It was only as the spirit of commercial enterprise, which the Italian Republics fostered, and to which the Crusades gave an undoubted stimulus, was gradually developed in Europe, that those frightful visitations of pestilence and hunger, with the recitals of which the pages of Eadmer and Gleber abound, when men forgot their humanity and

blasphemed their Creator, sensibly diminished in frequency and horror.

The Government was perpetually adopting some fresh precaution against epidemics. During the Plague of 1348, a Committee of three Sages had been deputed to concert all necessary and possible measures for arresting the evil; and in 1423 the first Lazzaretto was established. The successive developments, which this novel and admirable Institution received, greatly helped to improve the health of the Capital, and to diminish the rate of mortality. In 1467, larger accommodation for afflicted persons having been demanded, a Hospital with 100 wards was built at the public expense, in a vineyard belonging to the Abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore; and this building became known as the New Lazzaretto.[1] In the same spirit, every species of commercial roguery was brought within the pale of the law. A heavy penalty attended the exposure for sale, or even the attempted introduction into the City, of meat unfit for human food; justice had its terrors for the vintner, who endeavoured to palm upon his customers some nondescript compound as the finest growth of the Marches or as undoubted Malvasia (Malmsey); and it went hard with any confectioner, who was detected in putting chalk into his sugarplums, or adulterating his maraschino. Of her project of sanitary reform the Signory never allowed herself to lose sight. In 1459, the Board of Health, which had been already organized from time to time,

[1] Romanin (iv. cap. 6).

as occasion required, was rendered virtually[1] a permanent branch of the administration; and somewhat later, a species of Highway and General Police-Act, in the shape of Regulations for keeping the streets and thoroughfares in a state of cleanliness, for the clearance of all offal, putrefying substances and rubbish from the footpaths, was promulgated. These regulations were framed with such extraordinary attention to the minutest and most trifling details, that they acquired in process of time European celebrity, and furnished a model so recently as the eighteenth century for the Dutch Republic.

One of the most memorable visitations of the pestilence, subsequently to the "Black Death" of 1348, was that which was experienced at Venice in 1447. So powerful was the dread of contagion, that altars were erected in the streets, and mass was celebrated in the open air. Fires were kept continually burning to purify the atmosphere; braziers of scented woods were employed with a similar object; processions were made in every quarter; every effort was used to deprecate the supposed wrath of the Almighty; and a hymn was composed, which the people sang aloud in the streets and on the Canals:—

"Alto Re della gloria,
Cazzi via sta[2] moria;
Per la vostra Passione,
Abbiane misericordia!"[3]

[1] It was not *formally* declared to be such till 1485. See Domenigo Malipiero (*Annali Veneti*, 655). The printed copy (*Arch. Stor. Ital.* vii. 137) was abridged, and there the passage does not occur.

[2] *i.e. questa.*

[3] *Cronica Erizzo*, MS. in the Marcian Museum, quoted by Romanin (iv. 482).

No expedient was neglected, which tended to add to the general safety and comfort. During the prevalence of an epidemic in the neighbouring cities, no meat, fish or wine was admitted into Venice, until it had undergone a regular process of disinfection. The most anxious care was exhibited to secure for metropolitan use the sweetest and most wholesome water; and subsequently to the fifteenth century the entire supply was derived from the Brenta. The highways were preserved in a faultless condition; no impurities were suffered to offend the eye or the nose; smoky chimneys, as well as noxious smells, were prohibited; and it was illegal to pollute the Canals, which were periodically dredged to check the stealthy accretion of mud and slime from the continuous deposits of the Brenta, the Adige, the Piave and the Po itself.

From the opening of her independent career, Venice abounded with pious and charitable institutions. By his will, made in 977, Orseolo the Holy left funds for the erection of a Hospital. The Doge Marino Giorgio founded an asylum for outcast or destitute children. A surgeon. named Gualtieri; established a Refuge for the indigent, and a Home for disabled or superannuated sailors; a building, known as the *Misericordia*, was endowed by Giacomo Moro for poor women; and a Magdalen at Saint Christopher-the-Martyr, by Bartolomeo Verde, for penitent females. During the reign of Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1339–42), the Foundling, or *The Pieta*, had its rise; and in 1349, an Orphan

House was to be seen at San Gianbattista, at the Giudecca. Moreover, periodical distributions of alms and poor-relief took place, both on the part of the Government and on that of individuals. Among the aims of Venetian benevolence and philanthropy, the exertions, which were constantly made to alleviate the sufferings of prisoners of war, must always be remembered. At the same time, by a law of the Great Council, passed in 1300, street-begging was interdicted; the officers of the Signori di Notte were ordered to take all mendicants, and to convey them to the Hospitals.

In a mercantile City, of which the houses were constructed for the most part exclusively of timber, the Carpenters necessarily formed one of the most numerous and important classes of mechanics at Venice; in point of fact, they enjoyed a pre-eminence in both these respects. Of the followers of this calling, there existed within the Dogado two separate and distinct bodies; the one was composed of those who confined their attention to the ordinary duties of the trade; the other consisted of such as were employed in the Public Arsenal and Dockyard, in the capacity of shipwrights. The latter occupied, of course, the higher and more eligible position.

Until the period arrived, when wood fell into disuse for purposes of building, and a demand was made for less rude and less inflammable material, Bricklayers and Stonemasons were in little request; and indeed till the commencement of the twelfth century they were rarely employed except in the construction of

cathedral churches or edifices of great pretension. In 827, when one of the Byzantine Emperors restored in stone, at his own expense, the Church of San Zaccaria which had been accidentally destroyed by fire, he sent from Constantinople an architect and a body of operatives, most probably from a desire to adopt in the new structure a style of architecture, with which the Greeks were more familiar than the Venetians.

One of the points, to which the Venetians directed their earliest attention, was the institution of Organ Manufactories, which were known before the close of the eighth century,[1] and the establishment of Brass and Iron Foundries. The introduction of the former was due to a certain priest Gregorio, who is said to have brought the knowledge of the mode of construction from Constantinople, where the art of organ-building was then in high repute. "About the same time," writes the dry but accurate Dandolo (880–1), "the Doge Orso Badoer (Badoer IV.) was made a Protospatarius by the Greek Emperor; and in recognition of the honour which he had just received, he sent to Constantinople, as a gift to Basilius, twelve large bells, and from that time forth the Greeks used bells!"[2] This passage satisfactorily establishes the existence at Venice of Brass or Iron Foundries, or

[1] A.D. 826. "With Baldrico," says Eginard (*Opera*, i. 382), "there came hither a certain priest of Venice, named George, who said that he knew how to construct an organ; and the Emperor (Louis the Pious) sent him to Aix-la-Chapelle, and desired that all the necessary materials should be given to him."—*Vita Caroli Magni.*

[2] Blondus (*De Origine et Gestis Venetorum*, 7 edit. 1481).

both, during the reign of Badoer IV.; and it is highly probable that their first introduction into the Republic was an event of prior date. Nor, indeed, viewed in connexion with the extensive and increasing demand for iron itself in its wrought and manufactured state, which the Venetians had, so far back as the reign of Badoer I. (809–27) and his son Giustiniani (827–9), from many foreign countries, more especially from the Saracens and other warlike nations, as well as with the manifold uses to which the article might be made applicable at home, will the antiquity thus claimed for the Venetian Foundries appear unreasonable. In later times, the Corporation of Ironfounders acquired social influence and note by its importance and number. It had its peculiar franchises and its own Prefect or Gastaldo. The historian Sagorninus, who flourished under the reigns of Ottone Orseolo, Pietro Barbolano, and Domenigo Flabenigo (1008–43), was a Master of this Craft; and in the precious Memorials of his own Times[1] which he has left behind him, he has inserted a passage which conclusively shews that the members of the Guild were bound to work so much iron annually as their contribution to the support of the Ducal Fisc, which is known to have been the fund from which all the expenses of the Government used to be defrayed.

Comparatively speaking, the Iron Trade opened to the Republic during the middle ages the same source of profit as it at present affords to the English

[1] Sagorninus (*Chr.*: edit. 1765).

nation. But, apart from any relative increase in the demand for the article and the supply, a wide discrepancy existed between the position of the two countries in this respect. At Venice, iron was simply a manufacture, not a product; and the Venetians did not possess facilities for converting the trade into a monopoly. The probability is, that when the present of twelve bells was made to the Byzantine Court in 880–1, the art was in a somewhat advanced stage of improvement; it was only a few years later that the general structure of the celebrated CAMPANILE was brought to completion (888–900), and that the Tower was made ready to receive the Great Bell. The latter, the metal of which was expressly cast for the purpose, was of stupendous bulk and diameter in the estimation of that age; and there can be no doubt that it long continued to be accounted one of the wonders of the City. It was viewed by the saunterers on the Rialto in the days of Pietro Tribuno (888–912) with intelligible feelings of pride and admiration.

Of manufactures, those of glass,[1] and cloths-of-gold and purple dye, were at once the most antient, the most extensive, and the most celebrated. The trade in cloths-of-gold in the form of mantles or *Palli*, for either sex, was prodigious; and the profit arising to the Venetians from this source alone were incalculably large. The Courts of France and Germany, and

[1] It seems to be supposed that the crucifix painted on glass, and bearing the date 1177, in the Church of the Dominicans at Treviso, is of Venetian manufacture.

more particularly the former, were among the best customers of the Republic. Charlemagne himself was seldom seen without a robe of Venetian pattern and texture; and the constant intercourse which the Patriarch Fortunato maintained with the son of Pepin, had at least the good effect of spreading the knowledge and appreciation of the manufactures of his country to the banks of the Seine and the Loire. It was a point of policy which the Republic steadily observed from the beginning, to make every extension of territory, every treaty of peace, beneficial to her interests as a mercantile Power.

The houses of the early Venetians exhibited some points of resemblance to the Roman buildings at Pompeii. They were constructed, however, for the most part of wood; and fir, larch, and elder were the three descriptions of timber in principal use. The house, which was not uncommonly one-storied,[1] seldom exceeded two stories exclusively of the *Liago* or *Heliacon*, a terrace or balcony at the top of the building, where the inmates were accustomed to resort in the evening, namely, the basement, or *Terreno*, on which were the kitchen offices and the Armoury, and the upper story, which contained the sleeping and sitting apartments.[2] Every establishment of any pretension was provided with a well, an oven and a bakery. The supply of fresh water to the metropolis was obtained from the Brenta, and was at that time abundant; the

[1] Zanetti (*Dell' Origine di alcune Arti presso li Veneziani*, 78–9).
[2] Mutinelli (*Annali*, p. 12); id. (*Costume Veneziano*, p. 49).

well from which it was raised was sunk, as at Pompeii, in the outer court; and near at hand was a cistern, where a sufficient quantity of rain was usually preserved for the use of the family. The water from the latter was allowed to filter into the well, it being thought that filtered rain-water was an improving ingredient in that which was drawn from the river.

On entering a house of the better class through the ample portico, the first object which met the eye was an outer court, leading into a vestibule, from which a staircase conducted to the second story. The latter, in addition to the dormitories, contained the principal sitting-room, along the walls of which were ranged curiosities of art, armour, weapons, and other family relics—the sword which a Michieli used at Jaffa, or the spurs which a Dandolo wore at Constantinople. It was a large quadrangular apartment, of which the sides were covered with leather, embossed with gilt arabesques; or, if the family was particularly wealthy and extravagant, with silken tapestry, brocaded with silver.

From the sitting and sleeping apartments you ascended to the *Liago*, which was closed on three sides, and open only on that which had a southern aspect, and enjoyed the morning sun. The roof was flat, and composed of rafters, instead of being vaulted like that of the Roman edifices.

In the dwellings of the poor, the floor of the room consisted of common paving-stones, strown with sand or with rushes, as elsewhere; but the remains which

have been exhumed of cement pavement, shew that that material was often applied to a similar object in more fashionable residences; and marble was occasionally employed.

It is capable of proof that chimneys were by no means uncommon during the reign of Domenigo Contarini (1043–71) even in the habitations of the middle classes.[1] The earthquake of 1282, which committed the most terrible damage in many quarters of Venice, was fatal to a very large proportion of those in the metropolis. The Venetian *Cammini*, which were generally in the kitchen[2] of the residence, were in the first instance of the rudest possible structure, especially in the humbler abodes, the inmates of which contented themselves with the hollowed trunk of a tree, or even with a bamboo, as a conductor for the smoke. Nevertheless their simple existence must be treated as one of the marks of the superior civilization of medieval Venice. For elsewhere such appliances, in any form or aspect, continued till the fourteenth century to be of the rarest occurrence;[3] and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that during a very long course of years a larger number of chimneys might have been counted in the Dogado than in the whole remainder of Italy. It was to the faulty structure and inflammable material of the Cammino which, like every other portion of the house, was formed prior to the Great Fire of 1106 entirely of timber or bark,

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, p. 163). [2] Zanetti (*Origine di alcune Arti*, 78).
[3] Zanetti (p. 79). They were not introduced into Rome till 1368.

that the origin was undoubtedly due of many of the innumerable conflagrations which desolated the metropolis between the fifth and twelfth centuries.

It is believed that the *Venеti Primi* carried with them into the Lagoons a knowledge of the manufacture of glass, with which both the Greeks and Romans were conversant. It is well known that glazed windows, although far from common, and regarded as a luxurious trait, were well known at Pompeii. From the wording of a decree, which passed the Legislature on the 17th October, 1276, the twofold inference may be drawn that the manufacture was at that time in a flourishing condition, and that the Republic felt an anxiety to convert it, so far as might be practicable, into a monopoly; and it is to be recollected that, among the Companies which joined in the Procession of the Trades at the Coronation of Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268) the Glass-Blowers occupied a prominent place. The professors of this *Art* were at first suffered to fix themselves in any part of the City, for which they might feel a preference, or which was most suitable to their purpose; and the earliest measure, having a tendency to change the practice, was in 1297, in which year appeared a species of manifesto against the continuance of glass-furnaces in the metropolis itself. But, that this prohibition was not strictly regarded, is sufficiently shown by the fact that, in 1321 a celebrated Minorite, Fra Paolino,[1] still pos-

[1] Author of a Treatise written in 1314, or thereabout, entitled *De Recto Regimine*. *V. infrâ*, chap. xxvi.

sessed a property of that kind in Rialto; and it was not until the latter part of the fourteenth century that the whole collection of scattered furnaces was transferred to Murano, and that the latter place became the exclusive seat of the manufacture. The institution of the commercial fair, which was held at Murano for the mutual convenience of buyers and sellers, was a custom, however, which was probably in force long before.

Amid their graver callings, the Venetians were distinguished by a passion for three objects—music, birds, and flowers; and few houses were without a garden and an aviary, in the former of which flower-beds and avenues of fruit-trees were agreeably diversified with shrubberies of cedar, cypress and laurel. In the gardens which belonged to the wealthier class, exotic plants became not uncommon, when the Crusades had rendered Europeans familiar with Oriental botany; and a crystal fountain, which sometimes was to be seen playing in the centre, completed the picturesque effect of the landscape. The orchard of San Giorgio Maggiore, the vineyard of San Zaccaria, the olive-yards of Amiano, and the aviary of San Job, enjoyed during the middle ages peculiar celebrity. Among private grounds, those of Tribuno Memo, at San Marcuola, in the ward of Canal-reggio, were most famous at the close of the tenth century; and it is possible that if the noble owner had had the wisdom to keep aloof from politics, and to have spent his time in grafting his roses and pruning his apple-trees, his contempo-

raries would have been contented with applauding his elegant taste as an amateur horticulturist, and Memo, instead of taking refuge in a cloister, might have closed his eyes among the flowers and verdure which he loved so much.

It is the remark of Sansovino, that in times of the highest antiquity the citizens of the Republic judiciously adopted a style of attire, which harmonized with the simplicity of their manners and the soberness of their carriage. "Originally," he continues, "the Fathers (*i Padri*), being strongly attached to religion, on which they based all their actions, and anxious to educate their children in the observance of virtue, the true foundation of all human affairs, as well as in the love of peace, had recourse to a species of costume suitable to their gravity, and such as might indicate modesty and respect. They were filled by a solicitude to do no wrong to any man, and to live in quiet with all; and they desired to make this solicitude apparent not in their manner only, but in their garb also!"

The dress of the men among the common classes was merely a sky-blue frock with narrow sleeves confined at the wrist; and their headgear with the rest of their habiliments was probably of a no less simple character, and subject to little variation.

The senators[1] usually appeared in a long robe with ample folds, and furnished with open sleeves,

[1] Fabio Mutinelli (*Del Costume Veneziano, Saggio*, 1831); Sansovino (*Venetia Descritta*, lib. x.) The drawing of an *Antient Senator* is copied from Mutinelli.

A SENATOR OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(*From* MUTINELLI.)

which were variously termed *Dogaline* and *Ducali;* the colour chosen, if not black, was azure (*turchino*), of which the Venetians were passionately fond. In wet or cold weather it was customary to fasten the large sleeves round the wrist with strings, which was called wearing them *a Comeo;* but the younger men who disdained this effeminate precaution perhaps, and never used strings, were said to wear them *a Dogalina*. The sleeve was generally ornamented with a double row of buttons, one of which, running in a transverse direction, made with the other a species of Cross. The cap, which was most frequently composed of black or red velvet, was in form triangular, with two silken fillets as strings, meeting cruciformally in front across the forehead.

There was a certain religious spirit entering into the costume of those early times. Not satisfied with raising memorials of the Crucifixion in their churches and their dwellings, the Venetians carried such memorials also on their persons; they symbolized the Passion in the sleeves of their dresses and the ribbons of their hats. Even their choice of colour discovered the same tendency and principle. For they gave the preference to that hue, which resembled the blue vault above them, and the blue expanse around them! This predilection seems to have grown proverbial, and the cerulean tint, which the ocean presents in its shallower parts, acquired the name of the *Venetian colour*.[1]

[1] *Dissertazione Epistolare sopra il Veneto Colore:* Ven. 1772; 12°.

Above the inner robe was ordinarily thrown a long mantle or cloak, which descended nearly to the feet. To this cloak was in most cases attached a hood, which might be drawn at pleasure over the head, or allowed to hang down the back or over one shoulder. The waist was commonly encircled by a wide band of velvet or other material (in mourning *black* velvet always), which served the twofold purpose of a girdle for the dress, and a belt for the weapon which then formed an indispensable part of the costume. High leathern shoes, which conspired with the flowing vest to hide the red stockings, complete the description of a Venetian Senator or Nobleman of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The dress varied according to the seasons,[1] as well as the personal taste of the wearer. But, at the same time, the mantle was very seldom seen without a fur-lining: in summer, ermine, in winter, furs of fox and squirrel, were preferred; and the number of skins of animals of this kind, preserved in the dwellings of the rich, was barely credible.

The ladies were distinguished by the intelligence of their character, the sprightliness and vivacity of their wit, their fondness for music, their talkativeness, their coaxing ways, and their love of spruce clothes. "Ladies of Venice," says Gianni Alfani, a poet of the thirteenth century,[2] "I wish to sing with

[1] See Fulgore da San Geminiano, A.D. 1260 (*Sonetti de' Mesi*; *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, ii. 172, *Gennaio*).

[2] *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, ii. 420.

you of my mistress, because she is adorned by every virtue and charm, which are resplendent in you!" Their extravagance in dress necessitated the promulgation of a series of sumptuary edicts, commencing at least so far back as the year 1303.[1] But these edicts were of small efficacy. By one, which passed in 1360, matrons were restricted to sixty pounds' worth of ornaments, and unmarried women to a moiety of that amount. Yet in 1428, at a Ball given in honour of Don Pedro of Portugal, then at Venice, there were 120 ladies entirely enveloped in robes of cloth-of-gold, blazing with jewels, and 130 others attired in crimson silk studded with pearls and precious stones. "The Venetian private houses," says a writer of the fourteenth century, "are not like the dwellings of citizens, but like the Palaces of Princes and Kings!"[2]

In person the ladies were graceful and comely, though rather low in stature and with a slight inclination to fulness of bust. They are said by Sansovino to have enjoyed a preëminence among the Italian women for the whiteness of their linen, and for their skill in sewing and embroidery. Their costume underwent numberless changes at successive periods.[3] Originally it consisted of a robe of gay colour, generally blue, unless in mourning, and of simple pattern, descending in loose folds to the instep, and a mantle of azure tint, which could be thrown across the shoulders or be drawn close to the person by a

[1] Sansovino, *loco citato*. [2] Quoted by Mutinelli, *ubi suprâ*.
[3] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 144).

clasp, at the wearer's option. In the accompanying drawing, which probably belongs to the thirteenth century, appears a Venetian lady in this kind of drapery with those peculiar shoes, resembling pattens, then in vogue, and with a small cap, perhaps of velvet, from which her hair escapes in careless ringlets down her back. Her sleeves are straight and fitted tightly to the wrist. The outer garment seems to be lined with a warm material, and the whole aspect of the figure indicates that it is designed to represent a female of the better class in the winter garb of the period. A second drawing,[1] which is ascribed to the fourteenth century, exhibits a lady who, from her mien and deportment, may be pronounced without much hazard to be a member of the aristocracy, in in-door, and, perhaps, evening apparel. Her hair is elaborately arranged and parted, and is combed off her brow; her head-dress is a species of turban. The robe which, though a high body, leaves the neck exposed, is confined at the waist with a narrow zone; the sleeves are of the simplest description. The hand which is not concealed by the drapery is gloveless; the arms are bare considerably above the elbow; and a bracelet encircles the right wrist. The feet are quite hidden from sight, and the curious pattens displayed in the present illustration were merely the covering which was employed in traversing the kennels and alleys,

[1] These two woodcuts are copied from Mutinelli (*Del Costume Veneziano:* 1831; 8°).

VENETIAN LADY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

(*From* MUTINELLI.)

VENETIAN LADY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

(*From* MUTINELLI.)

and which was replaced in the house by easy slippers, or on formal occasions by shoes of more elegant workmanship. When Pietro Casola, the author of *A Journey to Jerusalem*, was at Venice in 1498, the pattens or *zilve*, as they were called, were worn so monstrously high, that ladies in the streets were obliged to save themselves from tumbling by leaning on the shoulders of their lacqueys![1]

The same writer describes the lying-in chamber of a member of the Ducal House of Dolfino. The room, says Casola, was not at all large, yet the ornaments alone were worth 2,000 sequins. The ceiling was gold fretwork and ultramarine; the walls were superbly carved and decorated. One bedstead had cost 500 ducats, and the rest of the furniture was in keeping. Five-and-twenty ladies, in sumptuous raiment, were in attendance upon the wife of the Patrician. There was far more grandeur and luxury here than in the Palace of the Duchess of Milan!

This observant traveller continues to give an account of the life of the period. He tells us that the elderly ladies and the young matrons used in his time to walk abroad closely veiled, but that the unmarried women were, on the contrary, liberal rather to excess in the display of their charms, and painted a good deal. Perhaps the latter practice was followed to hide their bad complexions, which it was the opinion of a contemporary of Casola, Marino Sanudo the

[1] Quoted by Romanin (iv. 495). His journey was printed for the first time in 1855; but a few copies only were struck off.

younger,[1] that they spoiled by their artificial way of living.

Gloves had been introduced into France at a period of high antiquity, and were in common use in that kingdom in the beginning of the ninth century (814). To the Greeks this article of apparel was familiar at a prior epoch, it being extremely probable that their knowledge of it had been transmitted to them through the Romans from the antient Athenians; and it therefore seems perfectly irrational to suppose that the Republic, which traded with both countries at least so far back as the Age of the Antenori (804–9), and which had already become the great vehicle of communication between the eastern and western worlds, was otherwise than conversant with an usage, which she was perhaps the first to introduce to the latter. It is a well-authenticated fact, that the Government of Obelerio di Antenori and his brothers was fortuitously instrumental in improving to a material extent the commercial relations of Venice with the two leading European Powers of the day; the conspiracy of the Patriarch Fortunato and Obelerio's French marriage on the one hand, and the embassy of Beato to Constantinople on the other, promoted such an object in a manner which is apt to be insufficiently appreciated; even in the time of Charlemagne (774–814), Venetian fashions had found their way into the imperial palace no less than into the man-

[1] *Edificazione della Citta di Venezia* (Cicogna MSS. 920), quoted by Romanin *ubi suprâ*. .

sions of the nobility; and it is so far from being likely that the Venetians of the age of Angelo Badoer (809–27) were strangers to the practice of covering the hand, that the probability rather is, that the great annual Fair at Pavia,[1] which was frequented almost exclusively by Venetian traders, formed the sole mart for the gloves, which are represented to have been worn to such a pitch of extravagance by the subjects of Louis le Debonnaire!

The entertaining narrative of Petrus Damianus bears, however, the earliest allusion of an explicit nature to the employment of gloves among the Venetians; and if the evidence just adduced was not strongly contradictory of such an hypothesis, it might have been supposed that the fashion in question was much rarer than it is proved to have been at that time (1071), and that the Dogaressa Selvo was guilty of innovating upon the manners of the period to an extent, which Damianus thought highly censurable.

Austerely simple in their manners, and in their toilet studying splendour rather than finery, the Venetians, according to the testimony of the often-quoted Sansovino, who had many sources of information at the time of his writing, which have long ceased to be accessible, were frequent in their ablutions and cleanly in their linen. In every house there was a well, supplied with fresh water from the Brenta, and a reservoir of rain-water. At the tables of the common people, the method of eating employed was

[1] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 23).

primitive enough, in all likelihood, in those days, but among the better classes the food was conveyed to the mouth by a fork with one prong. Double-pronged forks long continued to be rare luxuries; and even at the close of the eleventh century it was enumerated by Damianus among the fastidious notions of the Dogaressa Selvo, that that lady was in the habit of making use of a *gold* implement of this kind.

Two meals in the course of the day ordinarily sufficed. The first, called dinner (*prandium* or *pranzo*), was taken at or about noon. The other, a lighter repast, was taken at an early hour in the evening. At the Palace, the dinner was served in the principal Hall; and the Doge, and his Ministers who resided with him, ate in public. His Serenity supped in his own apartments. In Venetian cookery, garlic, onions and all sorts of spices, were used; eggs were plentiful enough; beans, peas, cabbages, and other kind of vegetables were well known; and after the first course of meat, wine and confections,[1] of which the ladies were excessively fond, were frequently introduced at the tables of the more affluent. Pigeons and other birds were common. Bologna sausages were even then in vogue. All kinds of game, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, hares, were eaten, either roast or boiled. In fish, salmon,[2] lampreys, eels and trout, were among the delicacies

[1] Sagorninus, Da Canale, Chinazzo, &c., *locis suprâ citatis.*

[2] *Sonetti di F. da San Geminiano*, A.D. 1260 (*Poeti del Primo Secolo*, ii. 168: Fir. 1816; 8°).

known at this time. Wheaten bread was almost universal even among the poorer classes; but millet was occasionally employed. During the War of 1413, persons of narrow means were obliged by the pressure of high taxes to submit to such a diet, but it was deemed a sore hardship. The Republic procured her wheat for the most part from Apulia and the Levant, from Egypt and from Barbary. In the Famine of 1268 her ships penetrated as far as the Crimea in search of grain.

The evening amusements were varied enough. There was dancing and singing; and for those who did not dance or sing there was instrumental music, and for such as did not care for the viol, or the guitar, or the cittern, there was a chess-table. To many of the pastimes by which the wealthier Italians beguiled their leisure, a nation of islanders was necessarily to some extent a stranger: nor is it known that the Venetians were partial to the winter diversion of snowballing the ladies, which was so much in vogue on the Terra-Ferma. But convivial meetings, concerts, and serenades were soon introduced into the Republic. The musical instruments chiefly preferred came from Germany. In the words of the old Sienese poet, Fulgore da San Geminiano, who admirably paints in his Sonnets the life of his day,—

> "Cantar, danzar alla provenzalesca
> Con istrumenti novi d'Alemagna."[1]

In the later part of the thirteenth century, Bartolomeo

[1] *Sonetti de' Mesi, ubi suprâ*, ii. 175.

Giorgio, a Venetian, naturalized the Provençal son and created a notable reform in Venetian Poetry, whi had hitherto consisted of little more than popul ballads and snatches. San Geminiano relates th in his own town Monday was the day for serenade and Wednesday for receptions and balls,—

" Ogni Mercoledi corrido grande
Di lepri, starne, fagiani, e paoni,
E cotte manze, ed arrosti capponi,
E quante son delicate vivande

. . . . . .

Vin greco di Riviera e di vernaccia,
Frutta, confetti, quanti li e talento

. . . . . .

E donzelenni gioveni garzoni
Servir, portando amorose ghirlande ! "

This picture, which refers more immediately to the manners of Siena, may by analogy afford some insight into the contemporary aspect of Venetian society, of which it is to be lamented that no similarly graphic illustrations exist. An Arezzan poet who flourished concurrently with San Geminiano, Cene dalla Chitarra, has also left *Sonnets of the Months*. They shew that the life of Arezzo, Ancona, Florence, and other places had many features in common with that of Siena. The verses of Cene of the Guitar are indeed less rich in colour than those of his fellow-bard. But this circumstance may be partly explained by the fact that one was an advocate of abstinence, while the other was not only fond of his glass of wine, but even counsels intoxication :—

" Bevete del mosto, e inebriate ;
Che non ci ha miglior vita in veritate ;
E questo e vero come il fiorin giallo." [1]

[1] " The florin of gold."—*Poeti del Primo Secolo*, ii. 181, 196, *et seq.*

Speaking of his mistress, Albertuccio della Viola, a third poet of the same epoch, writes :—

" Alla danza la vidi danzare,
L'Amorosa, che mi fa allegrare.
Cosi, come danzava, mi ferio——
Vestut' era d'un drappo di Soria,
La Donna mia, e stavale bene!"

CHAPTER XXVI.

Spirit and Character of the Laws—The *Statuto*—Analysis of the Statuto —Laws against Usury and Bigamy—Law of Debtor and Creditor —Form of Procedure in Actions for Debt—Law of Evidence and Examination of Witnesses—Promission Del Maleficio—Character of the Criminal Laws—Forgery and Coining—Theft and Larceny—Burglary, Rape, Adultery—Various Classes of Punishment—Varieties of Capital Punishment—Torture—The Capitulare Nauticum—Organization of the Early Venetian Navy—Naval Discipline—Enormous Expenditure upon the Navy—Venetian Police—The Chiefs of the Wards and Streets—Peculiarity of the Early Venetian Constitution—Venetian Population—Rent-Rolls—Value of Houses —The Funds and their Fluctuations—Venetian Names and Venetian Language—Traces of the Feudal System—Venetian Serfs—Their Necromantic Practices—Agriculture—Character of the Early Venetians—Medieval Venice—Historical Associations—The Boyhood of Marco Polo—Arts and Sciences—Geography and Navigation—Charts—Knowledge of the Magnet and its Variations—Mechanical Sciences—Hydraulics—Clocks—The Lever—Medicine—Doctors—Medical Academy—Education—Theology—Writers on Theology—Natural Philosophy—Writers—The Four Trevisani—Botany—Francesco Barbaro, Pietro Loredano, and Carlo Zeno—Logic and Ethics—Geometry and Arithmetic—Schools—The Dead Languages—Poetry—Venetian Poets—Giovanni Quirini, the Friend of Dante—Reform in Venetian Poetry—Bartolomeo Giorgio—Sacred Poetry—Lorenzo and Leonardo Giustiniani—Other Literary Members of the Giustiniani Family—The Venetian Drama—Gregorio Corraro and his *Progne*—Other Works of Corraro—The Sister-Arts—History and Music—Bibliography and Bibliomania—Saint Mark's Library—Its Growth—Bequest of Cardinal Bessarion (1468)—And others—Its Incorporation with the Medicean Library —Introduction of Printing (1469)—John and Vindelin da Spira and Nicholas Jenson—The First Cicero and the First Pliny (1469) —Marino Sanudo *the Elder*—Some Account of his Personal History and of his Writings.

INSEPARABLY connected with any inquiry into the Rise and Progress of Venetian Civilization, must be the

spirit and character of the Laws. Of those remarkable institutions, which were framed for the most part during the period comprehended between the beginning of the sixth and the close of the fourteenth century, a brief outline was given in a former page,[1] and at the same time an attempt was made to shew how, in the course of the administration of Giacomo Tiepolo (1229–49) the written code was divided into three leading and principal branches, namely: the *Statuto*, the *Promission Del Maleficio*, and the *Capitulare Nauticum*.[2] A theme of such peculiar importance deserves to be subjected to closer analysis.

The change, which was wrought in the aspect of jurisprudence toward the middle of the thirteenth century, preceded by nearly two hundred years the accidental discovery at Amalfi, in 1416, of the celebrated Code of Justinian; and any features of resemblance or points of identity between the latter and the Statute of 1242 are, therefore, apt to create an impression, that the old Customs on which the Statute was unquestionably based in considerable measure, were neither more nor less than detached fragments of Roman jurisprudence, of which all record had been lost in the effluxion of time. The course of procedure, which was pursued at Venice in civil actions in conformity with the letter of the Statute, distinctly reveals indeed a Roman prototype.

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[1] *Vide suprâ*, vol. ii. p. 191-4.

[2] *Statuti et Ordini di Venetia*; Venetiis, 1477, folio. This was the second edition. The former appeared in 1475, 4°.

As at Rome it had been customary for the plaintiff in the first instance to apply to the King or Consul for a license to appear *in jure*, and for the issue of a writ of summons against the defendant, so at Venice it was usual to address a similar prayer to the Doge; but it may be treated as a material variation that, while among the Romans the practice was to make in each case a special and temporary appointment of a Judex, whose authority expired with the termination of the suit, a Venetian trial was sustained before the permanent tribunal of the Judges of the Palace, or before a Judge of the Commune, or, as at Verona and elsewhere, in the presence of the Chief Magistrate himself, sitting in *Public Placit* (Publico Placito[1]).

By the principles established in 1242, the STATUTE was divided into Five Books, and the latter were subdivided into two hundred and three chapters.

The first Book, which extended to one-and-twenty chapters, set forth—I. The form of appeal in civil actions and actions for debt. II. Certain regulations for the non-alienation of church temporalities, which could not be accomplished in the case of Bishops without the consent of their clergy, or by the Metropolitan without the sanction of the episcopal bench. III. The Law of Evidence; 2. The different classes of evidence, and to what extent, as well as in what manner, each was admissible; 3. The amount of

[1] Sabellico the Historian, in his treatise *De Prætoris Officio*, printed with his other minor works in 1488, has a chapter *De Callidâ Juris Interpretatione Evitandâ*.

proof, which was necessary under various circumstances; 4. The examination of witnesses, and the competence of the sitting Judge to compel the attendance of any person, whose testimony might be supposed relevant to the point at issue;[1] 5. The acceptance or refusal of Bail. IV. The Law of Marriage: 1. The regulations connected with the Settlement of the Dower, and its treatment; 2. The share of the wife in the estate of her husband during the coverture, and her claim after his decease, over and above the dower, to the free and absolute use of any property, which might have been left intestate. V. The Law of Inheritance,[2] which contained provision for cases, where the departed left behind him sons only, or daughters only; 2. Or both; 3. Or neither, in which instance, if no heir-apparent appeared within a stated time, it was the practice to purchase the estate in the name of the Commune, and afterward to sell it by auction; 3. the rule for the partition of any property, which might have been left to several persons in common, and which one of the co-heirs might wish to distribute; 4. The two principles that in default of other issue, children born out of wedlock might succeed to possession, wherever it could be shown that the parents had at a subsequent period, and prior to the preparation of the will, been lawfully united; and secondly, that no testament or codicil could be pronounced valid, by which a child, whether legitimate or otherwise, was

[1] *Statuti di Venetia:* edit. 1477, cap. 25.
[2] *Statuti*, lib. iv. cap. 24–7.

totally disinherited.[1] VI. The Law of Probate and Testamentary Jurisdiction, whereby, among other points, such as had taken the cowl or the veil, being accounted civilly dead, were declared incompetent to make wills,[2] to succeed to property, or to administer the property of others. VII. The Law of Insolvency, exhibiting the relations between Debtor and Creditor, in which respect the Venetian practice, though undoubtedly marked by severity, was a considerable modification of the Roman Law.

The Second Book of the Statute, embracing fifteen chapters only, treated—I. of the appointment of Guardians and Trustees to the estates of Minors[3] and Lunatics, of the necessity of bringing forward competent and proper witnesses to prove in the latter case, that the patient was of unsound mind, and unable to manage his own affairs; 2. The disposition of the property of the insane person; 3. The right of his or her heir or heirs to succeed to possession in due course, and to make wills; 4. The obligation imposed on the Trustee to surrender his charge, and to give an account of its administration, in the event of the lunatic dying, or recovering the use of his faculties.

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[1] In this particular, among others, the Venetian Law followed the Civil Law.

[2] *Statuti di Venetia:* edit. 1477; cap. 28.

[3] In the *Codex Publicorum*, quoted by Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 138), appears the petition of one of the Celsi family for the restitution of certain property, which had been unjustly taken from him during his minority, his parents or guardians having died abroad.

The Third and Fourth Divisions, consisting of sixty-three and thirty-six chapters respectively, bore—I. Upon the Law of Partnership. II. Upon the Law of Landlord and Tenant, among the articles of the latter of which appears a provision for the omission to pay rent, and similar contingencies. III. Upon the Law of Possession.

The Fifth and closing Section, which was limited to eighteen chapters, was of a somewhat miscellaneous nature. It contained several isolated clauses respecting the possession and descent of property, and the character of Title-Deeds, which were valid only, when they bore the signature of two, at least, of the Examiners (*Esaminadori*). This Book likewise constituted a receptacle for one of the stray articles on the Law of Insolvency, which belonged strictly to the first division, but which were scattered through the whole body of the collection without much regard to order or perspicuity. This absence of method, notwithstanding the vigorous attempt which had been made to digest and classify the contents of the Statute, still continued to be a leading blemish in a system, which was, on the whole, entitled to the highest encomium.

About the time of Reniero Zeno[1] (1252–68), the

[1] *Novissimum Statutorum ac Venetarum Legum Volumen duabus in partibus divisum:* Venetiis, 1729. It was a practice of which the origin is referable to the middle of the twelfth century, and even, perhaps, farther back, to register the proceedings by resolution of the Great Council, Council of Forty, and other bodies, on their respective Minutes; and this collection of minutes, which was carefully preserved, became in time one of the most important branches, if not the most important, of the

practice of usury was assuming dangerous proportions; the followers of the calling, both Venetians and foreigners, were extraordinarily numerous; and the rates of interest, which they had grown into the habit of exacting, were exorbitant and ruinous. It was thought necessary to check the progress of the evil; and in the third year of Zeno's administration, a resolution, which passed into law, was carried (June 10, 1254) by the Great Council, to the effect that it should hereafter be unlawful for any person, whether a born subject of the Republic or an alien, to put out money to usury, or to cause it to be put out to usury, in any manner or wise, at home or abroad, under penalty, for the first offence, of the forfeiture of the whole amount so invested and a pecuniary mulct, and on the second conviction, of undergoing a similar punishment in addition, if a Venetian, to being publicly branded as a money-lender, if a foreigner, to being expelled from the Dogado. It seems likely that the Great Council Minute of the 10th June, 1254, ought to be construed in a restricted sense, and that it by no means contemplated the legitimate four or five

National Archives. Inasmuch, however, as the latter must have been repeatedly destroyed in the successive conflagrations which consumed their repositories, a conclusion may be safely formed that posterity is indebted for a knowledge of the contents of these registers to the foresight of the Government of the day in multiplying copies; and it is more than probable that the Liber *Albus*, Liber *Luna*, Liber *Cerberus*, Liber *Auri Cancellariæ*, Liber *Pilosus Avogariæ*, Liber *Regina*, and others, from which Sandi quotes so largely in his elaborate and well-known work, existed, even in his time, as they had long existed, only in the transcripts of originals which had perished many ages before the Author of the *Venetian Civil History* was born.

per cent., which was then the ordinary price of money on the Exchange; and it may be suspected, moreover, that it was directed principally against the Jews for whom, although there might be a larger sympathy at Venice than elsewhere, there was no willing toleration, and who may have already begun, about this period, to render themselves troublesome and obnoxious. There is also some room for an hypothesis, that this Usury Act of 1254 originated among the greater Venetian capitalists, and that the measure was therefore founded on a shrewd calculation that, in its practical operation, it would entail inconvenience and loss only on the smaller traders and Jew brokers, by whom the former were supplied with money on certain conditions.

In 1288,[1] a statute was enacted for the first time in the Great Council (September 27) against the crime of Bigamy. It was prescribed by this law, that the offender, whether a Venetian or a foreigner, resident in Venice, should be required to make restitution of any property which he might have received with his second wife, and if no such property existed, or in other words, if money had not formed the inducement to the transaction, he should be adjudged to pay to the aggrieved party, that is to say, the woman whom he might have inveigled into marriage by misrepresenting his existing engagements, an indemnity of 100 *lire* within a stated time, or in default, to undergo a twelvemonth's imprisonment.

[1] *Leggi Criminali del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto*, 1751.

In the laws of a City, where monetary transactions were necessarily so constant and extensive, it was natural to attach special weight to such as affected the relations between Debtor and Creditor, and laid down the principle of operation in the recovery of claims, and in the prosecution of fraudulent insolvents. On these points, therefore, it is not astonishing to find the Statute more than usually explicit. Whenever one Venetian desired to open a civil action against another, it was necessary for him to present himself in the first instance before the Doge *in Placito*, and there to pray for a *Ministerial* or license *in jure*, with an order to the defendant to appear on a certain day in answer to the charge. If the ground of complaint seemed good and sufficient, the prayer of the plaintiff was allowed; and the summons was left by an officer of the Court at the dwelling of the defendant, whose absence from home was not admissible, under ordinary circumstances, as a plea of ignorance. If at the appointed time the defendant appeared, a space of four days from the date of the summons was granted to him for the purpose of obtaining counsel; and on the expiration of that term, legal proceedings were suffered to commence. In difficult and complicated cases, the Bench often found itself unable to arrive at an immediate decision on the facts before it; and in such circumstances sentence was necessarily deferred. In this manner suits and litigations were sometimes prolonged over several years; instances were known in which their duration exhausted several lives.

When it happened, on the other hand, that the defendant neglected to reply to the summons either in person or by proxy, and the suit of the plaintiff appeared to be just, the law provided that the Judge should grant an order, *Ne excat Ducatu* (as it were), which forbade the recusant, at his peril, to leave the Dogado, unless some third person was found at the last moment prepared to come forward as his proxy, or unless the defendant himself or his friends were in a position to offer sufficient bail.

The judicial writ remained in force during a twelvemonth, when a second and definitive summons was issued by the Court on the same understanding as regarded the choice of counsel, as in the preceding instance. If the defendant still continued to be a defaulter, no farther grace was extended to him; and after receiving on oath the evidence of the plaintiff and his witnesses, judgment was recorded against the absentee. Such was the form of procedure, in actions for debt and other civil suits when the amount involved upward of fifty *lire*, in the bishoprics of Caorlo, Malamocco and Torcello. In the other dioceses, or in cases where the debt or other claim fell below such an amount, the Court declined to grant a second summons.

Than the adoption for political purposes of the ecclesiastical divisions of a State, nothing was more common at that time; but the origin of the inequality of civil rights lay in some antient franchise accorded to the favoured localities at a period, when the Republic

was alternately swayed by the contending factions of Malamocco and Heraclia. It was one of the principles laid down in the Statute, that neither the prosecutor nor his counsel should be suffered to cross-question or interrogate the opposite party in a vexatious spirit or from an unfair motive. The acceptance or refusal of bail was at the discretion of the Bench.

The writ *Ne exeat Ducatu*, which the Judge was enjoined on no account to sign without mature consideration, affected the personalty of an insolvent, as well as his freedom. In case of default, or inability to satisfy the demands of the plaintiff, a distraint was usually made on his goods and chattels, and he was committed to prison until some satisfactory arrangement could be concluded. It was necessary, however, that the complainant should be able and willing to produce, if required, his legal authorization for proceeding to extremities: for his omission or refusal at once, and *ipso facto*, destroyed the validity of his claim; and the action thereby lapsed.

In receiving evidence, considerable caution was observed.[1] The witnesses, who might have been brought forward on either side, were severally and separately subjected by the Bench, prior to the commencement of the trial, to a searching examination; and if it became apparent, from their conflicting and contradictory statements, that they had been corrupted or

[1] *Statuti di Venetia:* 1477, cap. 25. At cap. 30, it is stated that affidavits made at Constantinople are invalid, unless signed by the Venetian Podesta.

suborned, their testimony was rejected as worthless. It was, moreover, in the competence of a judge to call on any person who was, or even who was supposed to be, in possession of information of a relevant kind, to attend the trial; and if such person omitted to respond to the summons without assigning an adequate reason for his conduct, the judge had farther the power to inflict a penalty of three *lire* for contempt of the Court.

The preliminary examination of witnesses before the judge on oath may seem to have entitled the procedure of which it constituted part to the appellation, in literal strictness, of Trial by Jury. The jurymen were not then understood to be twelve individuals, empannelled and removed from external influences for the purpose of deciding points of fact; but they were such persons merely as were ascertained, after due inquiry, to be best acquainted with the character of the accused, and to be most competent to give evidence on the charge under consideration, or on the case at issue. They were the neighbours, perhaps, of the defendant, or his gossips, or his acquaintances. They were those with whom he had been last seen walking, or with whom he had last had money transactions. Their sole function was to make depositions; the Bench was the judge of questions of fact as well as of questions of law. The medieval jury was as totally distinct from the modern jury as the statesmanship of the age of Petrarch was distinct from that of the nineteenth century.

The pages of the *Promission of Crime* are not unstained by that barbarous spirit, which has characterized the criminal legislation of all ages and of almost every people down to comparatively recent times. Yet there were some respects, in which the Venetian laws of the thirteenth century exhibited a greater degree of mildness than the laws of other countries in the eighteenth century. Such was the case with regard to bigamy, coining, and forgery, the last of which was naturally viewed in a less grave aspect at a period, when the system of Paper-Currency was hardly known. It is obvious, at the same time, that some margin is to be allowed for the discrepancy which invariably exists between the letter of a law and its practical application; and it must also be borne in mind that in a mass of unconsolidated legislation, a more or less considerable number of enactments dating from remote epochs, or owing their origin to peculiar circumstances, will always be found which, though nominally and strictly enforceable, have long grown out of practice or memory. At Venice, as elsewhere, the Bench had the express power of mitigating[1] the statutory penalty, or of recommending to mercy; and it may be fairer to look upon the principles laid down in the Promission as exhibiting the extreme point of rigour to which justice might be stretched, than the ordinary character of its administration in the Dogado.

Theft and larceny were the offences with which the

[1] *Statuti di Venetia:* 2nd edit. 1477, cap. 23, *et alibi.*

Venetian lawgivers dealed most severely. In cases where the amount, or the value of the property abstracted, exceeded not ten soldi, and where the delinquent had not been previously charged with a similar offence, he or she was allowed to escape with a flogging. But on a second conviction the sentence was more than proportionably heavy; and according to the heinousness of the crime and the character of the offender, it ascended in a graduating scale to capital punishment, which was awarded in those instances where the amount was upward of forty lire. If the condemned person was a man, he was hanged between the Red Columns; if a woman, she was put to death in such manner as the judge might think proper to direct.

Forgers and coiners were adjudged to lose one hand. Burglary with violence, rape, and adultery, were punished with the mutilation of a hand and exoculation, unless, in the two latter cases, the culprit was in a position to offer a suitable and sufficient indemnity to the injured party. Simple burglary was treated as theft.

On conviction, a prisoner was sentenced to imprisonment; to mutilation by the loss of one or more limbs, according to the nature of the offence and the frequency with which it had been committed; or to death. Of capital punishment there were four kinds: starvation, decapitation, strangulation, and hanging. The first was accounted the most cruel; the second was generally adopted by preference in cases of political

conspiracy; the third was the rarest and the least ignominious; and the fourth was the common method of disposing of ordinary malefactors who were doomed to suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

In the starving process,[1] the condemned, having been led to the Campanile, was there inclosed in a large wooden cage with iron bars, suspended by a strong chain from a pole attached to the building; and he was fed on a diminishing scale with bread and water which he received by letting down a cord (so strong is the love of life!), until the unfortunate wretch, exposed to every weather, perished of cold, hunger and misery. Such was a method of punishment in extreme cases, which is known to have prevailed largely in the Peninsula during the dark ages, and to the invention of which the Venetians are not believed to be entitled.

Torture (*Marturatio*) was seldom applied, except in cases of treason, where it was found impracticable to elicit the truth from a prisoner by gentler means; and the law directed that under no circumstances should any person be subjected to the process, unless a certain number of the Privy Council and the Forty were present to take depositions, and to observe that no undue cruelty was exercised.

The Nautical Capitulary appeared for the first time during the administration of Pietro Ziani, and it was reproduced thirty years later in an enlarged form under the auspices of the Doge Zeno. An unique

[1] Galliciolli (*Memorie*, lib. i. c. 8).

copy of the Capitulary of 1255 was among the Quirini MSS., where it had lain neglected and forgotten during many centuries, when it was transcribed by Cancianus, and included by him in his collection of the *Leges Barbarorum Antiquæ*.[1] This existence of the Quirini MS. appears to have been unsuspected by Sandi and the writers who preceded him: yet, without a knowledge of its contents, it would be impossible to arrive at a proper appreciation of Venetian Maritime Law.

The whole Capitulary is conceived in a sensible and judicious spirit; the wording of every article is lucid and unequivocal; and the minuteness, with which every point touching the tonnage, rigging and equipment of a vessel is treated in detail, is highly admirable. It serves to indicate the degree of importance, which the Republic attached to the preservation of her Mercantile Marine in a due state of efficiency.

The Capitulare Nauticum[2] is divided into 128 chapters; but its contents may be classified under certain heads. I. 1, The *Poundage* of vessels; 2, the method of selecting the crew, and the number of anchors to be carried which, as well as the complement of seamen, was proportionable to the actual burden of a ship. II. 1, The reciprocal obligations of the seaman and his employer; 2, the signature of articles; 3, the payment of wages to the crew, with the

[1] *Barbarorum Leges antiquæ, cum Notis et Glossariis collegit F. P. Cancianus:* Venetiis, 1792, folio, 5 vols.

[2] See *Statuti et Ordinii di Venetia:* 2nd edition, 1477, sign. K 2, *et seq.*

penalty of omission or refusal; 4, the punishment of desertion. III. 1, The Arming and Victualling of ships; 2, the allowance of wine, water, flour and biscuit; 3, the weight of metal, in the form of balistæ and other projectiles, as well as the description of side-arms and pikes with which vessels should be furnished according to their poundage.[1] IV. 1, The Lading of vessels, and the measurement of the cargo, which was to be taken at a port by the local authorities, as a precaution against the practice of excessive lading;[2] 2, the penalty attached to the infringement of the prescribed standard, which was a fine amounting to double the value of the goods found on board beyond the legitimate quantity. V. 1, The disposition of the cargo;[3] 2, the obligation of the consignee or consignees to remove his or their property, upon due notice being given, within two days after arrival, or in default to forfeit two *lire* a day, until the law was complied with, saving always those cases in which sufficient cause could be shown for the delay or neglect; 3, the illegality of

[1] Venetian vessels were reckoned by the *pound*, not by the *ton*. The *Miliarium* was 1,000 pounds. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, hardly any vessels were found to exceed 1,000, or 1,050 *miliaria*, *i.e.*, about 400 tons. The utmost length was 200 feet at the keel.

[2] All Venetian ships were marked at a certain point on one or both sides as a water-line, with the Figure of the Cross. During the first five years of service, the owner was at liberty to lade two feet and a quarter above this point. In the sixth year, the standard fell to two feet, and subsequently to the seventh, not more than a foot and a half of water beyond the Cross was permissible. The character of the penalty is recorded above, and it may here be added that the Government reserved to itself the right of levying on the most valuable portion of the cargo.

[3] This word, as Mr. Rawdon Brown points out, is the Venetian form of *Carico*, and has been adopted by the English without alteration.

stowing goods between decks. VI. 1, The expenses of Pilotage, which devolved on the owner. VII. 1, The appointment of Ship's Clerks; 2, their functions, and the character of the articles which they were required to sign. VIII. The repair of Damage and Loss, which might accrue to vessels from various causes. IX. The duties and obligations of the *Padrono*, whether he was both the owner and captain of the ship, or merely the latter. X. The relative authority of the Padrono and the local Representatives of the Venetian Government on home and foreign stations.

The maritime greatness of the Venetians in a certain sense had its source in the ever-recurring necessity of protecting the commerce of the Republic against the inroads and attacks of the Saracens, who had successively gained possession of Syria, Egypt, Barbary, Spain, Sicily, Southern Italy, Cyprus, and Candia, and who sought to support and extend those conquests by the study of navigation and the maintenance of well-appointed fleets. To oppose these formidable antagonists, to repress their piratical excursions, and to render the ocean an open field to trade and enterprise, became thus the interest and aim of the Venetians; and in following them to their attainment, the Islanders insensibly acquired that naval predominance, which ultimately won for them the Empire of the Waves.

When the faulty organization of the Navy, and the vicious system under which the Signory, influenced by an unwise jealousy of her servants, allowed

the management of that force to fall, are considered, it will cease to be surprising that the Venetians occasionally sustained severe reverses, and it will become a source of astonishment rather, that their arms were attended by such a large measure of success. Whenever a fleet was to be despatched on any distant or important undertaking, the first care was to provide a suitable number of captains of galleys, two or three Proveditors of tried experience, and lastly, an admiral or general officer of lower rank, to whom the supreme charge of the armament might be intrusted with safety and confidence. The next object of solicitude was the appointment of a Council of Civilians (*Consiliatores Stoli*), which, though not strictly limited, rarely exceeded four. These Councillors were not furnished with any authority to interfere in matters of mere general discipline and detail; but it was their province to tender their advice to the naval commander in all difficult points of judgment on which a divided opinion might exist, to impose a veto on any intended step on his part, which they might conscientiously consider disadvantageous to the public service, and to decide any question of moment which might arise in the course of the expedition by a plurality of votes. This extremely mischievous principle, the origin of which appears to have been purely political, and which was subsequently introduced with the most unhappy results into the Dutch Republic, was adopted by the Venetians at least so early as the twelfth century; it was one which, while it seldom exercised a salutary

influence, was frequently productive of the most unfortunate, and more than once of fatal, consequences; and among other illustrations which might be cited, the most signal was the loss of the Battle of Curzola, fought between the naval forces of Venice and Genoa in 1298, which was wholly to be ascribed to this cause.

Subordinate in rank to the Commander-in-Chief, were the Proveditors, who seem to have corresponded to the Generals of Division of the other Service, and below the Proveditors were the Captains of Galleys (*Capitanei Galearum*) or *Comiti*, whose authority, originally large and too loosely defined, was gradually circumscribed, as experience pointed out from time to time the cogent necessity for the improvement of naval strategy. In 1293, a decree passed the great Council (August 10[1]) by which it was rendered a capital offence on the part of Captains of Galleys to desert the main squadron, or to detach themselves from it without due authority; and, already during the short administration of Giacomo Contarini,[2] a *reformation*[3] had appeared, which exposed any captain, returning from a mission or voyage under circumstances of ignominy, to a penalty of 100 marks of silver. Subsequently to 1295[4] (February 2), the election of Captains or Counts of Galleys was made by ballot in the Great Council.

A *Camerarius*, or Treasurer, was appointed to every squadron; in his hands were lodged the funds, from

[1] Marin (v. 222). [2] Ibid. (v. 199).

[3] Among the Venetians, this term was equivalent to the *Bill* in England, and the *Projet de Loi* in France. [4] Marin (v. 199).

which monthly payments were made to the officers and men. The Captain generally received fifteen soldi *grossi*, per mensem; the engineers, of whom on an ordinary galley of war there were two, ten soldi; the archers and crossbowmen, five; the cook, four; the ship's clerks, of whom there were four, seven and a-half; the steersmen, of whom there were often as many as eight, seven and a half; the common oarsmen, four; and others in proportion. The entire complement of the vessel reached from 260 to 280 hands, exclusively of troops: and the monthly expenditure upon each such equipage, independently of the pay of the soldiers, fell very little short of 2,500 soldi. If this calculation be carried somewhat farther, it follows that the mere working crew of a squadron of fifty sail cost the Republic for six months (the usual term of a campaign) in bare wages without rations, no less a sum than 750,000 soldi!

Two *Judices Stoli*, or Judges of the Fleet, accompanied any flotilla of importance. The office of these magistrates, which was probably filled in most cases by members of the judicial bench at home, was purely temporary, and their jurisdiction was strictly local.

The interchangeable quality of the Marine has been already incidentally noticed. Down to the middle of the fourteenth century, the Republic does not seem to have possessed what could be strictly termed a Navy. Whenever a war broke out, or it became necessary to act on the defensive against the

sea-robbers of Barbary or Dalmatia, the usual practice was to impress and fit out the requisite number of merchant vessels, for which a stipulated price was sometimes given, but which were often obtained gratuitously; and a *Chamber of the Armament* (Camera del Armamento) existed, where seamen were required to register their names, with that of the ship on which they desired to serve. At the close of hostilities, the vessels were released from their obligations; and any which the Government might have purchased, or have built for the express occasion, were generally sold by auction,[1] and applied or reconverted to the uses of trade by the buyers. But the rule was never probably very strict in this respect; the principle of voluntary subsidies and contributions was carried at Venice to such an extent, that the State was not unfrequently relieved from the burdens, which weighed upon it in other countries; the munificence of private individuals spared not merely the expense of chartering galleys, but in some measure, of taking mariners into pay; and the modes of conducting a War were so various, and so manifold in points of detail, that it was impossible to arrive at any uniformity of custom.

The preservation of the Public Peace devolved in the first instance on the *Capi de' Sestieri* or *Chiefs of the Wards*, under whom were the *Capi de' Contradi*, or *Chiefs of the Streets;* and subordinated to the latter again was a certain Staff of Officials, denominated

[1] See Documents at the end of the present volume, No. 14.

Custodi, or Watchmen. In their character, and in the two classes of duties which they habitually performed, the Watchmen united the Bailiff with the Constable. They arrested persons who were charged with debt, and who declined to answer the summons of the Courts, or to submit to their award; but their more usual occupation consisted in patrolling the streets, and in taking into custody any refractory vagrants or troublesome passengers, and reporting them to their immediate Capo who, in his turn, submitted the circumstances to the consideration of his chief, the Capo Del Sestiero. The latter, who was a species of stipendiary magistrate, possessed the power of disposing of petty offences, or of inflicting summary penalties of a light nature, and short terms of imprisonment. But in cases, where the delinquency happened to be of a graver complexion, the Chief of the Ward simply committed the prisoner for trial before the Judges of the Palace or other tribunal, or when that Board had been established, handed him over to the SIGNORI DI NOTTE.

There can be little doubt that the Chiefs of the Wards, the Chiefs of the Streets, and the Watchmen, who have been introduced to notice in the preceding paragraph, and whose graduated functions there has been an attempt to explain, represent the first germ of a system, which was afterward carried to much higher perfection, and which terminated, as it might have been expected to terminate under a government with such tendencies, in the conversion of these Officers of

the Peace into a Political Organ and a Secret-Service. Such is the sole solution, of which the problem seems to be susceptible; and such is the origin, which may be unhesitatingly claimed for the VENETIAN POLICE. In a metropolis, where civil tumults long continued to be so frequent, and where private plots and assassinations were so common, the existence of a numerous and efficient body of watchmen became a point of the utmost consequence, and it is probable that such flagitious crimes as the murder of the Doge Tradenigo, and the Tragedy of Domenigo Morosini, were powerfully instrumental in producing the development and extension of the system.

There are some missing links between the Police of the thirteenth and the Police of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which it is not easy to supply. In the gradual transition which the office of *Custode* underwent from that of a public watchman to that of a secret spy, it was necessarily divested of that simplicity, which originally belonged to it. The Republic was in this respect far from being in the rear of her neighbours and contemporaries, and it may be surmised that the Venetian constable of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was at least as efficient a guardian of the Peace "of my Lord the Doge," as the English sixteenth-century character, which Shakspeare has immortalized in Dogberry.

The celebrated conspiracy which was formed against Venice, in 1371, by Francesco Novello, Lord of Padua, furnishes the first direct clue to the existence of the

social evil in the Republic. From the details of that movement it is collected, that in the time of Andrea Contarini, a house of ill-repute was kept in the Capital by a procuress known as La Gobba (*the Hunchback*), who was not very fastidious in the choice of her visitors. On this particular occasion the house was found, upon being searched by the police, to contain several dangerous political characters, who had come from Padua with a diabolical project in contemplation, and who were betrayed at the last moment by two courtezans. It may be conjectured that the Gobba establishment was only one among many, which were to be seen in various districts.

To check the progress of the evil, and to diminish the chances of contamination, as well as the scandal of a system of prostitution, formed the steadfast aim of Venetian legislation. In the earlier part of the fifteenth century, a law passed, which prescribed that all the stews of the metropolis should be concentrated in a single quarter, and that the women, who belonged to them, should wear a dress of a motley pattern peculiar to themselves; and such a measure, to whatever extent it was mistaken in principle and practically inoperative, was meant to be a step in the right direction. A late experiment of a different kind, by which the brothels were suppressed, was still less felicitous; it was a remedy worse than the evil against which it provided; and a short trial sufficed to establish its futility.

One of the most remarkable features in the early Constitution, was the prominence and distinctness,

which it allowed from the first both in religion and politics to private enterprise and liberality; and this was a feature, which grew down to a certain point with the growth of Venice herself. Works, which were undertaken elsewhere by the Government, were here undertaken by one or more individuals. Charities, endowments, and other institutions of various kinds, which were founded elsewhere by the nation at large, were founded here by an Orseolo or a Badoer. What in other States were general burdens, at Venice were class-burdens. An antient and perhaps immemorial usage, prescribing that all the great Venetian families should maintain in their domestic establishments an Armoury, from which they might at any time be compellable, on due summons from the Chiefs of the Wards, to contribute their quota of weapons of offence and other necessaries to the support of a War, manifestly sprang from this fundamental theory; and the same bearing is observable in the obligation, which was recognised on the part of those families, under similar circumstances, to furnish the Administration with ships, an obligation which was occasionally commuted for ship-money. In truth, while the Venetian nobility sought from the earliest times to be exclusive in the enjoyment of political power, it courted rather than evaded the responsibilities of such power; and whatever might be the vices of the system of government, which it established, neither excessive taxation, nor arbitrary levies, nor oppressive imposts, were often to be reckoned among

them. To one class indeed the Republic was made to owe her greatness; and the debt was more than fully repaid. Venice was the creature and the victim of a party.

Two circumstances, which supplied an indication of the growing prosperity of Venice at the close of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth century, were the increase in the population, and the rising value of house property. It is supposed that, in the age of Sebastiano Ziani (1173-8) the population of the whole Dogado, inclusively of persons in holy orders, did not exceed 70,000; but the difficulties which necessarily waited upon the verification of a census in a City, where the absentees were constantly numerous, warn us against the reception of this class of statistics in too exact or literal a sense. In 1336, the official returns shewed 40,100 males between twenty and sixty, representing by comparison with other tables an aggregate of nearly 150,000. In the last decade of that century, the numbers fell little short of a quarter of a million; and by a census, taken in 1367, it is established that the heads of noble Houses in that year were no fewer than 204.[1]

The practice of framing Rent-Rolls was familiar to the Venetians in the early part of the fourteenth century. In the days of Marco Cornaro, who ascended the throne in 1365, the old Rent Roll, or *Catastero Vecchio*, had been rendered by the enormous expansion

[1] Romanin (iii. 347).

of the National wealth entirely obsolete and unserviceable, and in 1367 a fresh survey was authorized.

The Catastero Vecchio was thus silently superseded. Its successor, the *Catastero Nuovo*, exhibited the results which follow:

Ward.	No. of Parishes.	Total Rental in Gold Ducats.
San Marco	16	799,180
Castello	12	456,960
Canareggio	12	485,230
San Polo	8	490,270
Santa Croce	9	281,280
Dorsoduro	11	368,800

In this Tabular statement a few trifling inaccuracies exist, which it is no longer possible to rectify. The correct total for the six Wards is 2,880,818 ducats of gold,[1] or, in lire grosse, a tithe of that sum.

Another, perhaps the next, Survey, was made in 1425; and the Roll of 1367 became in its turn the *Old Roll*. It is said[2] that the new survey exhibited a total of 3,253,042 ducats of gold, being in excess of the former by 372,224 ducats. The gold ducat was equivalent to a tenth of a lira grossa, and represented in English money fourteen shillings and a fraction. The silver ducat was only a fourth of this amount. But for the silver ducat there were two tariffs, the sterling and the current. The current silver ducat did not represent more than half-a-crown in English money. The latter was used exclusively in trade. In the affairs of the administration, the sterling rate

[1] Romanin (iii. *Documenti*, No. 5, *Estima delle Case di Venezia nel* 1367), from the *Cronaca Magno*.

[2] Romanin (iv. 500).

was invariably understood. When it was first struck in 1284, in apparent supersession of the old *Redondo* of Badoer VII. (939-42), the ducat of gold was estimated as equal to two lire piccole; but such was the purity and fine grain of the metal, and so undeviating the uniformity of the weight, that it continued to rise in value. In 1400, it was equal to 4 lire piccole 18 soldi, or 5 lire — 2 soldi. In 1450, its worth had more than trebled; it was equal to 6 lire 4 soldi. In the course of a few centuries, it rose to 22 lire, or *eleven times* its original mint price.[1]

The mansions, which studded the Grand Canal and other leading thoroughfares, fetched enormous sums. The possessor of a fortune which certainly did not exceed 150,000 ducats, Francesco Foscari was accounted, relatively speaking, a needy man; and his expensive habits and large family conspired to make him still poorer: yet the Palace, in which the Doge lived before his accession to power, and also for a few days in October, 1457, after his retirement, cost him 20,000 ducats. A large number of residences on or near the Rialto were estimated at 10,000 and 15,000 ducats, and 5,000 or 6,000 ducats was quite an ordinary figure. The house, which was purchased by the Commune so far back as 1348 for Jacopo da Carrara, grandfather of Francesco Novello, cost 5,000 ducats. In 1413, among the rewards of Pandolfo Malatesta, Captain-General of Venice in the Hungarian War, was a dwelling, for which the Pro-

[1] Romanin (iii. 342).

curators of Saint Mark's paid 6,000 ducats; and in 1429 the Palazzo Giustiniani at San Pantaleone was bought for the Lord of Mantua, ex-Captain-General of the Signory, for the sum of 6,500 ducats. In the same year, the Government, desirous of doing honour to the Waiwode of Albania, a Venetian citizen, procured for him the house of the patrician Nicolo Morosini at an outlay of only D. 3,000. The prices demanded for shops in the choicer and more fashionable localities at the same time was exorbitant. The smallest counter on the Rialto itself did not let for less than 100 ducats a year, and for the *Bell* Hotel at the Pescheria, with a frontage of little shops, the Sanudo family received annually 800 ducats.[1] Tenements which, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, used to let for fifteen or twenty ducats, had become in the fifteenth worth, according to their situation and their proximity to the Ducal Residence, six, eight, ten, or even twelve times as much! In the more sumptuous of the private edifices in and about the Foscari period (1423–57), there were not unfrequently single apartments upon the decoration of which 800, 1,000, or even 2,000 ducats had been expended by the proprietor, principally in gilding, mosaic or other carving, marble, and glass. Of the celebrated Furnaces at Murano the richer classes were munificent patrons; so large was the demand for the article in the metropolis alone, that in all the better neighbourhoods every street had its own glass warehouse, which depended

[1] Romanin (*Storia Documentata*, iv. cap. 6).

exclusively for support upon the tenants of the few mansions spread along on each side of it.

In the latter half of the twelfth century, the Government borrowed of half-a-dozen merchants the sum of 150,000 silver marks = 300,000*l.* at least.[1] From this transaction dated their origin the National Debt and the *Monte-Vecchio*. It was not till twelve or thirteen years later, that a Chamber of Loans (*Camera degl' Imprestidi*), with its staff of functionaries (*Camerlenghi*), was called into existence, and that the Funding System was made a branch of the political economy of the State. The confidence which was felt almost universally in the stability and good faith of Venice, encouraged an extensive resort to the Monte-Vecchio and afterward to the Monte-Nuovo. Foreign princes and capitalists deposited their money in the Funds as the securest investment which could be made; the right to hold Venetian scrip was a privilege which could not be obtained without legislative sanction; and the sums registered in 1428 represented an aggregate of 9,000,000 ducats of gold,[2] the interest upon which, paid half-yearly at Lady-day and Michaelmas, was 130,000 ducats. The subjoined Table shews the fluctuations in the interest paid upon the Debt during twelve years from 1386 to 1398.

Year.	Amount. Ducats.
1386	146,690
1387	239,830

[1] Romanin (iv. 94).

[2] Gallicioli (lib. i. c. 13). In twenty years from that time it had risen to thirteen millions.

Year.	Amount. Ducats.
1388	228,180
1389	220,870
1390	211,480
1391	236,230
1392	218,000
1393	241,190
1394	193,589
1395	217,660
1396	197,310
1397	188,950
1398	195,500[1]

The marketable value of the Funds was liable to rapid variations. At one time (1440) they were as low as 18½. So far as can be ascertained they were never higher than 59, at which figure they stood during a few months in 1409; but before the end of the year they had sunk to 45. In 1425, they were again at 58. It can scarcely be matter of surprise that the fluctuations were so frequent and so violent, when each ship which entered the Lagoons brought tidings of the prospect of a new war with Milan or Hunary,g or a report of a fresh revolution at Genoa or Bologna. Our astonishment must be rather that, at such an epoch and such a cycle of the world, any State should have succeeded even imperfectly in establishing a Funding system, and in imparting to it a moderate degree of equilibrium.

A subject more apposite and cognate than it may at first appear to the question of Population, is the question of Names. The Venetian families, apart from political distinctions, were of two classes:—

[1] Gallicioli, *ubi suprâ*.

1. Those which merely migrated into the islands; and 2. Those which were of a purely insular origin, and were founded subsequently to the rise of the Republic.

Infinitely numerous were the localities from which the immigrants came. The Orseoli, Quirini, Cornari (Cornelii), Marcelli, Valieri (Valerii), and Michieli, pointed to the Eternal City as the cradle of their race. Vicenza gave the Grimani, Capua the Capelli, Candia the Calergi and the Gezi, Pavia the Badoeri, Altino the Dandoli, and Messina the Foscari. The Gritti, the Zeni, the Tiepoli, sprang from a Greek stock. In the veins of the Giustiniani flowed the blood of the Heraclian Dynasty. The progenitors of Vettore Pisani were Apulian Counts. The ancestry of the Contarini are said to have been Lombard peasants.

The families which belonged to the second category, and which may be described as indigenous, were those of Da Canale, Da Ponte, Da Riva, Spazza-Canale, Dalle Fornaci, Dalle Contrade, Molino, Tagliapietra, Tribuno, Ducato, Veneto, Malipiero, Engegniere, Marini, Premarino, and others.

But the population of Venice long remained incontestably scanty, as it has been already observed. The periodical ravages of epidemics, coupled with the roving propensities of the people, were opposed to its rapid increase. It is true that in the course of time natives of all countries from Brittany to Bohemia settled in the City, and acquired by the

prescribed time of residence, varying from ten to fifteen years, the enjoyment of civic rights. But it is unlikely, that any of these distant emigrations were accomplished till the twelfth century. It was not till after the events of 1204, that a Calergi of Crete and a Lippomano of Negropont made the Republic their adopted country. It was only about one hundred years before, that the family of Polo quitted Dalmatia, and sought a new home on the opposite coast. The influx of Greeks from Constantinople is commonly assigned to the reign of Michieli III. (1170): nor can the establishment of the Brici of Saint Jean d'Acre and other Orientals be referred with much probability to an epoch anterior to the first Crusade (1099).

It was the genius and attribute of the Venetian Dialect to transform names for the most part into its own idiom. Giustiniani, Zeno, Badoario, Sanuto, Polani, Maestro-Pietro, Græco, Basilio, became Zustignan, Zen, Badoer, Zanutti, Boldu, Malipiero, Gritti, Baseio. Giovanni was corrupted into Zuanne. Enrico, Theofilo, Angelo, Dominico, Vittorio, were Venetianized into Arrigo, Fiofio, Anzolo, Domenigo, Vettore. For Messire il Doge we find substituted in the same manner, Messer lo Doxe; for Giudecca, Zuecca; for Gemelli, Zimole; for Carico, Cargo; for Giunta, Zonta; for Maggiore Consiglio, Mazòr Cònseio; for Avvocato, Avogador; for Venezia itself, Vinegia; and instances of this kind are too numerous to be particularized. In the comparatively early decree, by which

it was ordered that all legal and legislative proceedings should be conducted in the *Venetian tongue*, the solicitude of the Republic was apparent not only to remove the inconvenience of a Latin jargon, but to give dignity to her peculiar patois. The latter was not merely the language of ballads and pasquinades, of street-cries and popular songs, but it was, after a certain period, the language which was spoken from the Bench and in the Senate. Nevertheless, by the better historical writers it was largely, if not altogether, eschewed. It is well known that the more antient historians composed their works like Sagorninus in Latin, or like Da Canale in Norman-French.

The Christian names were borrowed principally from the Scriptures and the Martyrology. The passion of the Venetians for this class of appellation occasioned the speedy transfer to their baptismal nomenclature of such names as Zacchary, Luke, John, Paul, Timothy, Matthew, Noello, Pasquale, Vitali, Theodore, Mark, Thomas, and James. A love of Roman prototypes gradually naturalized Amulius, Ascanius, Priam, Hector, Troilus, Cornelius, Lucretius, Camillus, Fabius, Octavian, Justinian, Æmilius, Valerius, Fabricius, and Livius. Among women, Felicia, Buona, Clara, Agnes, Joan, Lucretia, Margaret, Mary, Anne, Catherine, Justina, Benedicta, Julia, Constance, Romana, were favourites. After the Lombard Conquest of 568, Henry, Froiba, Archielda, and many names, found neither in the Pentateuch, nor in Eusebius, nor in Dion Cassius, were of more or less frequent occur-

rence. Subsequently to the rise of the Norman power, it was not unusual to meet with Robert, Bohemond, and Godfried. A not uncommon name during the earlier centuries was *Deus-Dedit* (Diodato), or *God's-gift;* the second Doge of the family of Orso, who reigned from 742 to 755, was thus christened. It was, perhaps, merely given under the peculiar circumstances of an unexpected blessing; and if it was so, it seems natural that these Venetians, devout worshippers of Christ's Cross, and steadfast believers in an all-ruling Providence, should have loved to bestow on the autumn blossoms of the life-tree an appellation which might serve as a lasting record and perpetual testimony of the bounty of God.

The territorial insignificance of Venice itself, and the necessarily confined extent to which agriculture was practised within her own boundaries, will explain why the FEUDAL SYSTEM made no enduring impression, and left few, if any, permanent traces on the soil of the Dogado. The spirit of the Constitution was diametrically opposed to the formation of a Landed Interest, and the growth of military tenures. Nevertheless, in early times, while the population remained excessively scanty, and many of the Islands continued to be wholly uninhabited, the Ducal Government learned to make it a point of policy to bring these waste lands under culture by granting them out on easy terms to the servants and dependents of the first magistrate, and to others; and it becomes worthy of note that such grants were invariably founded on a strictly feudal basis.

In 864,[1] during the interregnum which followed the assassination of the Doge Tradenigo, the Provisional Executive was induced to accord to the domestics and other attendants of the deceased a free settlement on the then desert island of Poveja, with the faculty of electing their own municipal magistrates (*Gastaldi*), under the simple stipulation that they and their heirs should transmit to the Palace at Rialto, on the first Friday of each succeeding November for ever, *as a mark of fealty*, a tribute of fish through their Gastaldo and seven of their oldest townsmen, the reigning Doge being pledged to provide their deputies on every anniversary of the custom with a public dinner.

About 880,[2] Orso Badoer, Tradenigo's successor, observing that, in consequence of the once constant incursions of Pirates and Freebooters, the islands of Dorso-Duro, Olivolo, San Nicolo, and Murano, which lay in a peculiarly exposed situation, had been hitherto comparatively neglected, was led by financial reasons of a temporary character to concede to a tolerably large number of his retainers the property in question on the express condition, that the new tenants and their heirs should do service as Excusati, or Body-guards, to him and his successors in the Ducal Palace in perpetuity, and in the second place should render to the Fisc an annual payment amounting to a tithe of their income.

A third trace of feudalism once existed in the old Priory of Lovoli, which lay under a singular obligation

[1] *Vide suprâ*, vol. i, p. 104. [2] *Vide suprâ*, i. 133.

to contribute nineteen men to the Excusati. If such obligation, of which no other instance can be discovered, could be proved to be, what it most probably was, nothing more than a homage on the part of a Corporation for its lands, an illustration would at once be presented of the familiarity of the Venetians with the antient and honourable tenure by Free Socage,[1] of which perhaps the case of the Tenantry of Poveja may not unfairly be admitted as a second example.

Tenure by Knight-Service, which prevailed in Colonia Venetorum (Candia), as well as in Corfu, was altogether unknown to the Parent-City, from which the whole system of Fees or Feuds was, with a few incidental exceptions, excluded by a cause already brought under notice.

Of the two kinds of Vilains or Vileins (*Villani*), known to the feudal law, namely:—1, *Vilains Regardant* or *Attendant:* 2, *Vilains in Gross:* the latter alone, who were with stricter propriety denominated *Servi*, seem to have existed under the early Constitution. The frequent allusions to Servi, which are found in the annals of the Republic from the eighth to the fifteenth century, must lead to an inevitable conclusion, that this class of persons was proportionally not less numerous at Venice than in other parts of Medieval Europe; and in a treaty

[1] The definition of this word as tenure of lands by inferior services of husbandry, appears to be at least incomplete. "The term," as Mr. Kerr (*Blackstone's Commentaries*, ii. 79) observes, "is more properly derived by Somner from *soc*, liberty or privilege, than from *soca*, a plough."

concluded in 996[1] between the Doge Orseolo II. and the Emperor Otho II., a clause is found inserted for the extradition of fugitive serfs from the territories of the latter. At the same time, there is no apparent authority for the supposition, that the Venetian Serfs were employed otherwise than in a *menial* capacity.

From a very early date, however, the Constitution recognised on the part of Masters a right of exclusive and uncontrolled property in their Serfs. Among the Archives of the Monastery of San Girolamo,[2] appears an instrument, under which one of the Brethren cedes and sells to another for fifty-two lire (of silver) a Russian female slave, aged thirty-three, sound in limb and understanding, according to the custom and usage of the country, and because he had in the Serf in question an undivided and unquestioned property. By the will which he made in 1323, Marco Polo manumitted and restored unconditionally to liberty one of his servants. During the War of Chioggia in 1379–80, Masters were required to pay an extraordinary tax of three silver lire a month for every serf in their hands.[1] In 1410, a singularly curious law was enacted, to impose a check on a practice then too common among the serfs of both sexes in Venice, of dabbling in the mysteries of the Black-Art, as an expedient for gaining the affections of their employers!

At the same time, the Signory afforded, throughout her ample dominions on the Terra-Ferma, the utmost stimulus and encouragement to agriculturists and

[1] *V. suprâ*, i. 211.

[2] Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 27–8–9).

farmers; and upon the extension of the Venetian rule over Treviso and the contiguous Provinces, landowners were placed in possession of facilities, never before known, for the improvement of their estates, and for the cultivation of the soil.[1] Drainage by hydraulic pressure, artificial manuring, and other inventions were patronized and fostered. In the poorer localities, proprietors were indulged by a partial exemption from taxes; and after a War, the districts which had formed the seat of hostilities were compensated for their losses, so far as possible, by a liberal distribution of relief in kind. Pawnbrokers and money-lenders were forbidden to receive in pledge oxen or other animals used at the plough. To promote the interests of the same class it was, that many rivers in the Peninsula were for the first time made thoroughly navigable, and that ecclesiastical corporations were recommended to grant leases of their temporalities, instead of allowing them to lie fallow. In Dalmatia, the people were left at liberty to navigate all the rivers in their own bottoms without constraint for commercial and agricultural purposes. In this, as in other respects, wherever the Republic extended her jurisdiction, she carried with her the same paternal solicitude for the welfare of her subjects, for the alleviation of their burdens, and for their material prosperity; and nothing can be more scandalously untrue than the too generally received notion that, in pursuing her

[1] Andrea Gloria (*Intorno alla Storia e Collezione delle Leggi riferibili all' Agricoltura del Podovano. Arch. Stor. Ital. Nuova Serie*, iv. pt. 1.)

conquests, Venice obeyed merely the instincts of a blind and selfish ambition. The Venetians had in common with their neighbours Italian blood, the Italian name, an Italian soil and sky; but it was a very broad constitutional line, which separated them from Rome under the Colonna, or Milan under the Visconti. In social refinement, in moral and intellectual culture, and in general civilization, Venice stood on an unapproachable eminence.

Many features appear to have belonged to the early Venetians, which are opposed altogether to the modern conception of their character. They were in truth at the outset of their career a sober, earnest and thoughtful people; courteous, affable, and even jocund in their manners, but somewhat distrustful and circumspect; strict in their religious observances, and in the offices of charity and piety unsparingly liberal; not averse from show and pomp; costly and splendid in their dress, but neither motley nor garish in their tastes; in their choice of attire displaying a conservative spirit in keeping with the conservatism of their later policy; little tolerant of profane pleasures or of frivolous amusements, and chiefly bent on the more practical pursuits and severer duties of life: yet turning aside with no reluctant heart, when the hour called to holy worship or innocent recreation. Such were the Venetian merchants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. "The City of Venice," writes Ferretus of Vicenza,[1] "deserves to be called free: for it is governed by the

[1] *Rerum in Italiâ gestarum ab* 1150 *ad* 1318 *Historia* (Murat. ix.)

counsels of good citizens, and not by the dictates of an absolute King!" Nicholas Bonotriensis, who accompanied Henry VII. of Germany during his Italian journey in the second decade of the fourteenth century, complains of the discontented and restless spirit of the Venetians of his time. "They will have," says the Bishop, "neither God, nor the Church, nor the Emperor. Neither the land, nor the sea satisfies them!"[1] A similar stricture is passed by Froissart on the Lombards generally. In the Chronicle of Muazzo the Islanders are accused of being incurable ramblers. "The villas, the gardens, the castles of the Venetians," remarks this writer, "are Dalmatia, Albania, Romania, Greece, Trebizond, Syria, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, Candia, Apulia, Sicily, and other countries, where they find advantage, recreation and security, and where they stay ten years at a time with their sons and their nephews."[2]

"I have considered," writes the shrewd and lively Casola in 1498,[3] "the quality of these Venetian gentlemen, who are for the most part persons of fair and comely presence, astute, and in their dealings very subtle, so that it is needful in your transactions with them *to keep your eyes and ears open.* They are proud; it is, I conceive, from the great empire which belongs to them; and when a son is born to a Venetian, the saying is: 'a lord is born into the world.' In their

[1] *Iter Italicum Henrici Septimi*, A.D. 1310–13, *Auctore Nicolao Episcopo Bonotriensi* (Murat. ii. 895).

[2] Filiasi, *ubi suprâ.*

[3] *Journey to Jerusalem*, A.D. 1498: edit. 1855.

houses they are very thrifty and modest; out of doors, they are exceedingly generous. The City of Venice retains the old way of dressing, and never changes it, that is to say, the long mantle, the colour being optional and a matter of taste, though most frequently black. Nobody stirs abroad in any other costume; it is a style certainly very suited to grave persons. They all look like Doctors of Laws; but, if any one were to appear in the street without his toga, he would be taken for a madman!"

Let the mind's eye conceive a ruder Amsterdam, a City permeated by canals, and divided into deep water-streets of low wooden tenements interspersed, even somewhat thickly in the leading thoroughfares, with dwellings of greater pretension built on a better model and of a more durable material, and studded in every quarter with Christian Temples for the most part of the plainest architecture, not a few on the other hand possessing considerable beauty of structure, though more remarkable for the richness of their ornamentation than for the regularity of their design. Let us present to our fancy a few hundred lamps fed with olive-oil, distributed through the streets and alleys, commencing at the Sacred Niche at the corner, and renewed at each third or fourth door, shedding over the surrounding space a light, a little more powerful indeed but far less brilliant, than that which is emitted by the glow-worm. Imagine thoroughfares similar to those in the Dutch Capital, sometimes finding their termination in the Lagoon, more fre-

quently abutting upon squares skirted on three sides by public or private edifices, and on the remaining side opening from a wharf-lined quay to the sea. Picture those quays and squares a scene of perpetual bustle and excitement, the theatre of an uninterrupted procession of men. On one spot, a group of sailors, loosely dressed in jackets and caps, are quarrelling perhaps about their last wager. Within a stone's throw of the place where these men are standing, is a decently attired female, who is kneeling in an attitude of devotion before an image of the Virgin, enclosed in a recess at the angle of the nearest street. At another point, two persons who, if a judgment may be formed from their exterior, belong to a much higher class of society, are conversing together in a subdued tone. The elder of the two, a Venetian patrician, is drawing the attention of his visitor, a gentleman of Verona, to a large house of the Lombardic type immediately before them on the right hand; there, said the Venetian, had lived in former times a celebrated member of his family, and there was his memory still cherished by his descendants. A little farther onward to the left, he points out a second building of equal pretension, where the existence of a terrible plot, he whispered, had of late been discovered by the Government. After a short pause, the two passengers proceed on their way, warned of the approach of the hour of vespers by the bells of many churches, which are mingling their chimes in the stillness of a summer evening.

A little beyond the busy and crowded metropolis lay a region more sparsely populated, where the eye is relieved by patches of verdure and strips of meadow-land, as well as occasional plots of ground laid out in gardens and planted enclosures still consecrated to the vine and the olive, and still unaffected by the increasing demand for building space in a rising City. Here and there, too, may be observed Fish-Ponds (*Piscinæ*), stagnant and miasmatic.

Such was the Venice which Arrigo Dandolo knew, where Marco Polo drew his first breath, in which Marino Faliero passed his youth.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, there were several places which had acquired historical celebrity, and which were pointed out to visitors as objects of various interest and curiosity. In one quarter was shown a Church, in which an Emperor had suffered humiliation, and in which a Pope had preached the Gospel. In another was the scene of a battle of former days, on the issue of which had been staked the national existence. Here, perhaps, was the spot where the Head of the Government had fallen by the hand of an assassin. A little farther onward was the window, from which a pious Doge of other times was seen to converse with an unknown and mysterious stranger. On his right hand, the guide indicated the precise locality, where not long since had stood the oldest glass-furnace in Venice; on his left, he drew attention to a house partly in ruins, yet still famous as the birth-place of one, to whom the adven-

titious means of living in affluence and splendour had offered no temptation to ignoble repose, and who, after signalizing himself by great actions, had at length died for the Republic, leaving to his descendants the golden legacy of an immortal name.

In the Parish of San Agostino, in the Ward of San Polo, was the mansion which had been occupied by six generations of Tiepoli: Bartolo Tiepolo the Procurator;[1] his son Marco; Giacomo Tiepolo, the son of Marco; Lorenzo, the son of Giacomo; Giacomo Tiepolo *the Younger*, the child and grandchild of a Doge; and lastly, Bajamonte, the "Great Chevalier." In the Sestiero of San Marco, in the Parish of San Luca, on the margin of the Grand Canal, stood, till 1781, the house in which Arrigo Dandolo was born.

During the reign of Marino Morosini (1249–52), a spacious edifice existed in the Parish of San Giovanni Grisostomo, in the Ward of Canal-Reggio. It was the property of a Venetian gentleman of good family and handsome fortune, who had been absent for some time on a distant voyage. At present, the sole occupants of the building were his wife and her servants; and here, in the course of 1250 or the following year, this lady gave birth to a son, whose life she purchased with her own. The child inherited from his father a sound constitution and a vigorous mind; and as he grew up, the love of adventure and the spirit of discovery, by which the former was animated, he was found to possess even in a superior degree. On his return, the traveller was

[1] Litta in voce *Tiepolo*.

inexpressibly grieved at the change which had taken place, during his absence, in his domestic circumstances; as a distraction from the afflicting scene which his home presented, he soon determined to undertake a new voyage to the East; and he thought that he could not better consult the interests of his son, now a youth of eighteen, than by making him his companion. He was desirous of familiarizing him with the dangers of the sea, and of initiating him into the laws of navigation; it was his wish to inspire a son, who was dear to him by a double tie, with a taste for those pursuits by which he himself had risen to fame and affluence; and he even proposed, if he extended his travels so far, to introduce the lad at the Court of the Grand Khan. Such was the outset of the life of the greatest of Venetian navigators, and such was the opening of the career of MARCO POLO.

In the same Ward of Canal-Reggio, in the street of San Apostoli, was the dwelling of Arrigo Zeno, where the Great Fire of 1106 first broke out; and in the immediate neighbourhood lived the father of Marino Faliero, who was born there in 1274.

In the Ward of Castello, in the Parish of Santa Giustina, was the palace in which Sebastiano Ziani fixed his residence after his return from Armenia. From this house he was called in 1173, at the suggestion of his friend Malipiero, to assume the government of his country. It was here also that his son Pietro, who in his time enjoyed the reputation of being the wealthiest nobleman in Venice, received a similar sum-

mons two-and-thirty years later; and to the same roof the latter retired in 1229, when he was an old and weary man, to close his eyes in peace.

In that Sestiero, a little out of the City and in the district of Gambarere, stood the famous and venerable abbey of San Zaccaria, founded in the first days of the Republic, and restored in the early part of the ninth century at the expense of the Byzantine Emperor Leo IV. Connected with this wealthy institution for the reception of ladies, who desired to dedicate their lives to Heaven, was more than one interesting and important episode.

It was at the water-gate of San Zaccaria that in 982 the remains of Domenigo Morosini were found in an open boat, which had drifted down the current, and that the consequent discovery was made of the murder, which led, by a singular concatenation of events, to the deposition of the Doge Memo. On his way from the Palace to this point, Michieli III. was overtaken and mortally wounded by Marco Casiolo. It was there, too, that the celebrated interview had taken place between Pietro Tradenigo and the Abbess Morosini (855), when the latter presented to his Serenity, in the name of the Sisterhood, the famous jewelled Diadem.

In the street of San Filippo e Giacomo, once lived Orseolo the Holy. Here, while the Ducal Palace was still a wreck, that prince transacted the business of the State, and here in 961, while Sanudo IV. was still on the throne, his wife Felicita (Malipiero) had

borne him a son,[1] who was heir to his father's name, and to more than his father s genius. It was to the same spot that the eyes of all Venice were turned, on a certain morning in the month of September, 977, by the circulation of a rumour that the mansion had been searched, and that the Doge was nowhere to be found. But it was not till afterward, that the mystery of Orseolo's departure was satisfactorily unravelled.

Between the streets of San Filippo e Giacomo and the Riva degli Schiavoni, was the Calle delle Rasse. Here once stood the stone structure, now no longer visible even in its ruins, where dwelled Marco Casiolo or Casiòl;[2] and it was in front of this house, that the wretched man met his fate in 1172.

At Venice, the arts and sciences were sedulously and affectionately cultivated. Those, to which the Republic directed herself with the greatest earnestness perhaps, were mathematics, trigonometry, chemistry, alchemy, physics and metaphysics. The two former were of essential service in the study of geography and navigation.

The standard of geographical knowledge was not higher in any part of the world than here. The discoveries of the three Poli[3] in Tartary, China, and the East Indies; of Marino Sanudo, *detto* Torsello,[4] their contemporary, and the author of *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* written in 1306, in Armenia, Palestine, and

[1] Count Litta (*Celebri Famiglie Italiane, in voce* Orseolo).
[2] *Cronaca Altinate juxta Codicem Dresdensem.*
[3] Marsden's *Marco Polo:* edit. 1818; 4°.
[4] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. ii.: Hanoviæ, 1611; fol.

Egypt;[1] of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno in Iceland, Norway, Greenland, and toward Labrador and Newfoundland;[2] of Ca da Mosto, on the African Continent; and of many others whose names and narratives have alike perished, were continually swelling the stock of information. The charts which were published at intervals helped importantly the same object. It is scarcely susceptible of doubt that on his return from his travels in 1297, Marco Polo brought with him a plan more or less perfect and accurate of the latitudes which he had visited. In 1321,[3] the scarcely less illustrious Marino Sanudo Torsello presented to the reigning Pontiff his celebrated book *on the Faithful of the Cross*, with four maps or charts of his voyages in the Mediterranean, Egypt, Armenia, Arabia Felix, and the Holy Land; copies were subsequently given to the King of France and the Count of Claremont.[4] In 1351, a traveller, supposed from internal evidence to have been a Genoese, designed a chart of the Black Sea.[5] The production is jejune and meagre enough, but it is valuable and interesting as the most antient delineation of that region and

[1] See also Filiasi (*Ricerche*, 137); Placido Zurla (*Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani*, 1818: 2 vols.; 4°); Foscarini (p. 497: edit. 1854); and Morelli (*Operette*, ii.)

[2] Caterino Zeno (*Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia, col scoprimento del Isole Frislande, &c., da due fratelli Zeni, col disegno;* Vinegia, 1558: 8°. The *Disegno* is entitled *Carta da Navegar de Nicolo et Antonio Zeni: furono in Tramontana l'Ano* 1380.

[3] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii.: Han., 1611.

[4] Marino Sanudo Torsello (*Gesta, ubi suprâ*).

[5] Serristori (*Illustrazione di una Carta del Mar Nero*, A.D. 1351: Firenze, 1856; 8°).

littoral. In 1357, a map of the world, perhaps based on that of Sanudo, was made by Francesco and Domenigo Pizzagano of Venice;[1] and other contributions to nautical science appeared in 1368, 1380, 1426, and 1436.[2] The last, which proceeded from the pencil of Andrea Bianco of Venice, was the most perfect which had hitherto been seen. But not even the degrees of latitude were marked upon it. About the same time, Bianco produced a Planisphere,[3] which preceded by some years that which the celebrated Fra Mauro prepared by commission for Alfonso IV. of Portugal, and which was transmitted to Lisbon in 1459.[4] Some of the details are sufficiently grotesque, and the designs of men and places are primitively quaint. But on the whole it is executed with an elaborate skill and with a delicacy of manipulation, which entitle Bianco to the warmest eulogy. It is a masterpiece and a work of high art for the epoch, and it is easy to conceive that it procured the draughtsman no common applause.

The small folio volume, in which the Planisphere of 1436 was originally discovered, belongs to the library of Saint Mark. It contains eight other drawings, which merit a passing notice. There were formerly, in all appearance, as many as thirteen charts and maps in the collection; but the first, second and fifth have

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[1] Romanin (iii. 366).

[2] Jacopo Morelli (*Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni Viaggiatori Veneziani eruditi poco noti; Operette*, i.)

[3] Formaleoni (*Saggio sulla Nautica antica de' Veneziani*, 1783, p. 16, *et seq.*)

[4] Foscarini (*Lett. Ven.*, 445, n. 2: ed. 1854).

disappeared, and the last is nothing more than an illustration of the Geography of Ptolemy.[1]

The first chart in the present order, or No. 3, consists merely of a series of mathematical designs, demonstrating the laws of the winds and the phenomena of the tides, with a catalogue of instructions to navigators, and a table for measuring distances at sea.

No. 4 represents with striking precision and accuracy the Euxine, the Crimea, the Sea of Azoph, and the adjacent parts. No. 6 is devoted to the eastern section of the Mediterranean, and includes the Archipelago. In No. 7 and No. 8 the remaining sections of that sea are given. No. 9 exhibits the shores of France and Germany, and comprehends the Scotish and Irish littorals. In No. 10 we see the Baltic, the Gulf of Bothnia, Norway, Iceland, Friesland, and (under the name of *Stockfish* conjecturally) Newfoundland. No. 11 is simply the reproduction of some of its predecessors in miniature; and lastly, at No. 12 we find the Planisphere of Bianco.[2]

It is indisputable that the medieval Venetians were conversant with the polarity of the needle, and it is even probable that they were aware of its liability to declination. In a monograph on *Antient Marine*,[3] the

[1] Formaleoni (*Illustrazione di Due Carte Antiche nella Biblioteca di San Marco*: 1783); Zurla (*Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani*: 1818).

[2] Formaleoni, *ubi suprâ*.

[3] Formaleoni (*Saggio sulla Nautica antica de' Veneziani*: Ven., 1783; 8°). Nicolas, in his *History of the English Navy*, i., cites passages from two poems of the beginning of the fourteenth century, in which the loadstone is mentioned.

author justly ridicules and ably confutes the superficial prejudice respecting the insignificance of the old Venetian Navy, and he claims for his countrymen with some reason not only the honour of having been the first to apply trigonometry to nautical science, but of having developed the theory of tangents, and the decimal division of the radius. Marino Sanudo the Elder, who was a contemporary of the Doge Giovanni Dandolo (1280), confidently speaks of the compass as in use at that period. It is an ascertained fact that the Venetians, in and before the thirteenth century, employed a chart of Navigation, and were acquainted with a fixed system (*Martelojo*) of sailing tactics; and it seems to be one of those points which are self-evident, that a people who visited Egypt, the Euxine, and even the Sea of Azoph, so far back as the ninth century, could not have remained ignorant till the twelfth or thirteenth of the properties of the magnet.

The mechanical sciences were principally directed to hydraulic purposes,[1] to the manufacture of Clocks, and to the development of the powers of the Lever. The traditions are familiar enough which carry back the invention of water-clocks, or *clypsedræ*, to the third century of the Christian era, and of instruments with metallic works, and an *index* or hand acting on a

[1] Passing from the subject of clocks, Romanin (iii. 349) says: "Non minor cura esigevano *i lavori idraulici* pel regolamento de' fiumi, pei ripari dei Lidi, per lo scavamento dei porti e dei canali. Le spese per questi ultimi erano d'ordinario sostenute un terzo dagli abitanti lungo il canale o rio ch' era a scavarsi da una parte e un terzo da quella dall' altra, un terzo dal comune" (A.D. 1318–28).

striking-bell to the eleventh if not to the ninth. Horology, which properly ranked among the discoveries of the admirable Archimedes, was speedily regained in the renascence of civilization; but it was brought to perfection by the moderns very slowly and gradually. The clocks[1] which existed in England, France, Germany and Italy in the first moiety of the fourteenth century, were sufficiently primitive in their mechanism. They seem to have been uniformly diurnal, to have had one hand only, and to have sounded the hours through the medium of the bell, but neither the halves nor the quarters.

The timepiece, which was to be seen at Padua in 1344, was probably not importantly dissimilar from those which belonged at the same period to Dover Castle, Westminster Hall, and Peterborough Cathedral in England; or which were set up at Bologna in 1356, and at Paris in 1364. They were all automatous; but they demanded unceasing attention, were perpetually out of repair, and entailed incredible expense. The French King instituted, after 1364, a special office for the superintendence of the *Horologe;* and the holder was styled "the Governor of our Palace-Clock at Paris."

The absence of any specific testimony of the existence of timepieces anterior to 1310 cannot be accepted for a moment as a proof of an ignorance of the art. On the contrary, taken in connexion

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica *in voce, editio ultima.*

with the advanced state of Venetian civilization in other respects, it indicates that the invention was too familiar and of too antient date to become subject of particular record. On the institution of the Decemviral Council in 1310, one of the earliest decrees promulgated by that tribunal was directed against the practice of traversing the streets by night, which the recent Quirini-Tiepolo Conspiracy had rendered suspicious; and it was ordered, "That no person whosoever shall be suffered, without special licence, to walk abroad after the third bell of the night."[1] This edict undoubtedly alluded to the bell which formed, in the infancy of horology, a substitute for the striking pendulum, and which in the medieval clocks of larger size, adapted for churches and other public buildings, was of corresponding dimensions and compass.

It is documentarily established that, prior to 1393, a magistracy resembling that at Paris existed here, and that large sums were expended on the construction and repair of chronometrical instruments. In the year mentioned, a report was addressed to the Government on the state of the *old* clock of San Giacomo Di Rialto. It appeared[2] that this timepiece, weighing *six hundred* pounds, was clumsy, ponderous and unserviceable; that its bell, from some flaw in the action of the hand, emitted a sound which was barely audible, and that it was, at the same time, a great charge upon the Ducal Fisc. Under these cir-

[1] *Vide* present work, vol. iii. p. 25. [2] Romanin (iii. 349).

cumstances, a proposal was laid before the Procuratorial Department by a mechanical engineer of the day to replace the instrument by a new one, which should be of lighter materials, on an improved model, and of three times the compass as regarded the tone of the bell. The project was sanctioned. How far it answered expectations we are left uninformed.

The knowledge of the Lever was introduced by the Lombard[1] Nicolo Barattiero who, under the reign of Sebastiano Ziani (1173–8), was invited to superintend various works of drainage and architectural improvement, and who, at his own suggestion, performed the feat of raising on the Piazza of Saint Mark the two monoliths subsequently so notorious as the Red Columns. There can be no hesitation in concluding, that the Venetians themselves soon successfully exerted their imitative talents in emulating the ingenuity of the Lombard: nor is it easy to believe, that so great a commercial people remained long in ignorance of the use of *Cranes*.

The study of Medicine, though confined to a limited class, was diligently prosecuted. It formed almost one of the occult sciences. Its professors occupied a high social position, and enjoyed many rare privileges. They were lightly taxed. They carried themselves like lords. They were permitted to dress themselves as they pleased,[2] and to wear as many

[1] *Vide suprâ*, i. c. 6.

[2] *Legge sul lusso*, May 21, 1360 (*Avogaria di Comune*); Romanin (iii. *Documenti*, 6).

rings on their fingers as suited their taste. They were at liberty to order of their tailor pantaloons of Alexandrian velvet; to use white silk stockings and shoes of morocco leather, with gold buckles and jewelled points; to trim their coat-sleeves with Valenciennes lace, and cover the garment itself with rich brocade; and to buy hat and gloves in keeping. If he was skilful, he was handsomely remunerated; if he proved himself a quack, he was not allowed to practise. No sumptuary law touched the Doctor. No luxuries were denied to him. The best March wine and the maraschino of Zara were to be seen at his table. There was no dainty which he could not command. He was in a position to eat his dinner with a double-pronged fork.

The Republic originally retained in her pay twelve general practitioners and twelve surgeons, at a salary of twelve lire grosse each, or 120 sequins (1324). In 1310, if not earlier, a free residence was assigned to these functionaries at the Office of the Chamberlain of the Commune. In 1368, was instituted an Academy of Medicine. At this important and learned Society monthly meetings were appointed, at which all professional persons were invited to be present, and to lay on the table, or deliver orally, reports of all the remarkable cases which had come under their notice since the previous assembly. The examination of medical students was confided to the new Academy, which seems to have wholly superseded the old Hall of Physicians, established earlier in the century; and

any foreigner, who might be desirous of practising at Venice, applied to it for his diploma. At San Giovanni dall' Orio was a School of Anatomy; and at San Giovanni Bragola, the College of the Liberal and Physical Sciences, upon which, in 1470, Pope Paul III. (Pietro Barbo, a Venetian, and a native of the parish of San Gio. Bragola) conferred the privileges of an University.[1] In the Provinces of the Terra-Ferma, and wherever the Venetians extended their beneficent and humanizing sway, institutions similar to these, and endowed for the most part with similar privileges, were founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[2]

The system of education consisted of three divisions: the seminary, the finishing-school, and the university. There were pedagogues to whom boys were sent when they had learned their alphabets at home, to acquire a knowledge of arithmetic, grammar, writing, and psalmody, as well as, if the pupil was of a good family, an elementary acquaintance with the classics. Such was the master who taught little Carlo Zeno his first lessons in Latin and Greek, and who put into his hands the Book of David the King, which delighted the child so much. There were other masters, generally barristers or advocates of standing, who undertook to prepare the sons of the nobility for college, and who initiated them in the principles of law and jurisprudence, without which the education of

[1] Romanin (iv. 500).

[2] At Zara, so early as 1409. See Romanin (iv. 500–1, *note 5*).

no Venetian gentleman was deemed complete. Such was that Riccardo Malhombra, who directed the studies of Andrea Dandolo; in the following century, Giorgio Alessandrino and Benedetto Brognolo prepared students for the bar, and gave lectures at the public expense on forensic eloquence, as well as on poetry.[1]

In Theology, the Venetians were quite on a level with their contemporaries. Already, in the eleventh century, San Gherardo Sagredo, Bishop of Morissena, and subsequently a martyr, produced *a Commentary on the Hymn of the Three Children*, the *Praises of the Blessed Virgin*, *Quadragesimal Sermons*, and *Homilies*.[2] The first, which is divided into eight books, is a folio MS. on parchment, said to be still preserved in the Library of Frisingen.[3] During the reign of Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) flourished Bartolomeo Faliero, Patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote on the *Merits of the Holy and Immaculate Virgin*, on the *Celebration of Saints' Days*, and several orations. About 1321, Teodoro Memo, a Franciscan, compiled biographies of Saint Francis and of Saint Clara d'Assisi. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Domenigo Leoni was a voluminous writer of glosses on the Scriptures and on profane authors. In 1372, Nicolo Muzio, of the Order of Preachers, dedicated an edition

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[1] Romanin (iv. 500).

[2] Pier Angelo Zeno (*Memorie degli Scrittori Veneti Patrizi*; Ven., 1662, 12°, in voce *Sagredo*).

[3] Agostini (*Notizie degli Scrittori Viniziani*, vol. i.; *Prefazione*).

of the Works of Saint Gregory to the reigning Pontiff, Gregory XI.; and (it is alleged) the MS. is still to be seen in the Public Collection at Toledo. Angelo Corraro or Correr, afterward Gregory XII.[1] (1406), and Gabriello Condolmiero, afterward Eugenius IV. (1431),[2] the latter of whom penned a philippic against the Hussites,[3] were both persons of admirable erudition in Sacred Writ. It was to Eugenius,[4] that Blondus of Forli dedicated, about 1450, his *Italia Illustrata*. Contemporaneous with these distinguished Churchmen were Marco Giorgio, the author of two tracts, one upon Ecclesiastical Liberty, the other against Simoniacs; Alberto Alberti (1381), who left to posterity a volume of Divers Orations; Tommaso Strozzi, who gave to the world an Exposition of the Apocalypse, the Psalms, and the Gospel of Saint Mark; Domenigo Bollani, who composed a disquisition on the Purity of the Virgin; Luigi Bollani, who annotated the Epistles of Saint Paul; and Andrea Trevisano, a metaphysician, who commented upon Genesis. Somewhat later, Fantino Dandolo, a grandson of the Doge Andrea, and Archbishop of Candia, compiled for the use of the Clergy a Manual of Sacerdotal Discipline and Instruction.[6] Dandolo died in 1459, in his eightieth year;

[1] Muratori (*Annali*, ix. 34).
[2] Ibid. (142).
[3] Pier Ang. Zeno (*Memorie*, 1662).
[4] Blondus (*Italia Illustrata*; edit. 1481). The same writer inscribed his *Origo et Gesta Venetorum* to the Doge Foscari.
[5] P. A. Zeno (*Memorie*, 1662).
[6] "Incipit Compendium Reverendissimi in Christo patris Domini Fantini Dandolo Archiepiscopi Cretensis pro Catholice fidei instructione; sine ullâ notâ: 8°."

his performance has been printed. A collection of 129 sermons, various letters, a pamphlet on benefices, and other pieces of current interest are also ascribed to this learned divine, who eventually became Bishop of Padua.[1] About the same period (1400), Nicolo Condolmiero, not improbably a relative of Eugenius, contributed to Philology *Observations on the Meaning of Words*, and to Miscellaneous Literature a volume entitled *Consilia*.[2]

In Natural Philosophy, the most eminent name was that of Bernardo D'Iseo, who in his seclusion at San Francesco della Vigna consumed the better part of his life and his entire patrimony in chemical and alchemical experiments. Fortune, however, was kind to him at last. He made money by his researches, and, having quitted his country when his purse became low and friends were lukewarm, he spent his declining days abroad, and died a German Count. His book on alchemy is still extant, and it concludes with the words, "Here ends the book and treatise composed by Master Bernard, Count of Tervisia, who acquired the Countship and jurisdiction of Niège, in Germany, by this precious and noble art."[3] Iseo was followed

1. 1. *Sermones Fantini Danduli Protonotarii Apostolici, postea Arch. Cretensis.*
2. *Constitutiones Sanctæ Synodi celebratæ*, Apr. 27, 1457: editæ, &c.
3. *Fant. Danduli Epistolæ* (*sex.*)
4. *F. D. de Beneficiis.*
5. *Ejusdem responsio quædam Juridico.*—Agostini (i. 34, *et seq.*)

[2] P. A. Zeno (*Memorie*, 1662).

[3] "Hic finit liber et tractatus compositus per Magistrum Bernardum comitem Tervisianum, qui aquissivit comitatum et ditionem de Niège in Germaniâ per hanc artem pretiosam et nobilem."—Romanin (iii. 367).

by Bernardo Trevisano, who flourished about 1366,[1] and who was accounted one of the leading chemists of the age. Bernardo composed a Treatise on the Transmutation of Metals, which has been more than once printed.[2]

Three other members of the Trevisano family attained celebrity in other walks of literature and learning. Marco of the Parish of San Marziale wrote for the edification of his son Luigi an elaborate dissertation called by him *Macrocosmos, seu de Majori Mundo.* It appears that this gentleman was engaged[3] in his labour during the last ten years of his life: yet at his death in 1378 he left it unfinished. Andrea Trevisano, of the Order of Servi, occupied during three years the Chair of Metaphysics at Tubinga. Zaccaria, the fourth Trevisano, born in 1370, and who died in 1413 in the flower of manhood,[4] was one of the most accomplished men of his time, as an orator, a scholar, a politician, and a soldier. Of his orations only three are extant.[5]

In Botany, Venice boasts the distinguished physician and philosopher Benedetto Rinio. In the Marcian

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[1] Apostolo Zeno (*Lettere*, i. 183–4–5). [2] Romanin (iii. 367–8).

[3] A. Zeno, *ubi suprâ.*

[4] Blondus of Forli (*Italia Illustrata*, sign. H 1); Agostini (i. 310, *et seq.*)

[5] 1. *Zachariæ Trevisani de Venetiis, Oratoris illustrissimi Ducalis Dominii Venetiarum ad Gregorium XII. Pontif. pro unione Ecclesiæ Oratio;* 1407.

2. *Ejusdem ad Dominum Ariminensem pro integratione Ecclesiæ;* 1409.

3. *Ejusdem in refutatione officii Capitaniæ almæ civitatis Paduæ;* 1406.

Museum may be seen at the present day the original MS. of his Book of Simples (*Libro de' Semplici*), illustrated with 443 drawings of plants, with their names beneath in several languages. Those drawings were made probably from specimens furnished by the author to the painter Andrea Amadio, and they bear the date of 1415.

To the first moiety of the fifteenth century belong three other names, those of Francesco Barbaro,[1] the defender of Brescia, and illustrious alike in letters and in war; of Pietro Loredano, the hero of Motta and Gallipoli, the Venetian Marcellus, a gentleman not less renowned for his cultivated taste and his literary acquirements than for his feats of arms; and of the immortal Zeno, soldier, sailor, scholar, orator, diplomatist, the Scipio and Camillus of a second Eternal City, the prototype of the Raleighs of a later age.

It was about this date, that Domenigo de' Domenichi expounded the principles of Logic at the University of Padua, where the patricians Lauro Quirini, Ermolao Barbaro, Francesco Contarini, and Antonio Cornaro, as well as Nicolo Leonico, successively taught Ethics. The *Morals* of Aristotle was the favourite text-book; and it is said to have been Leonico who first redeemed the writings of the Stagyrite from the interpolations of Averroes and others. The testimony of Petrarch may warrant the deduction that in his time scepticism and free-thought had made considerable

[1] A treatise by Barbaro, *De Re Uxoriâ*, is well known, and obtained at the period of its first appearance a wide reputation.

ground in the Republic; and the famous adventure of the poet with an atheist shews that among a certain class, probably not very numerous, that deplorable affectation was in vogue. The Aristotelian theories, seen through a false and misleading medium, were the great delight of the young Venetian collegians down to the age of the erudite Leonico. It was impossible, Petrarch tells us, to listen to these silly wranglers without a sensation of nausea. His feelings may be imagined when a knot of these exquisite coxcombs constituted themselves a jury upon his literary merits, and concluded by pronouncing him a gentleman of upright purpose enough, but of shockingly neglected education!

A work upon Ethics, entitled *Rettor, seu de Recto Regimine*,[1] was dedicated about 1314 by Fra Paolino, a Minorite, to Marino Badoer, Duke of Candia.[2] It was written in the Venetian dialect,[3] and its purpose was to demonstrate the four cardinal virtues which help to form the perfect Ruler. The relic still survives.

Among the earliest teachers of geometry were two contemporaries, Marco Sanudo and Fra Luca Paciolo, a Minorite. The latter was the author of *A Summary of Geometrical Arithmetic*, which he edited, perhaps, merely for the use of his own pupils. In 1449, Paolo

[1] Romanin (iii. 367).

[2] Badoer was Duke of Candia from 1313 to 1313.—Cornaro (*Creta Sacra*, ii. 307).

[3] The Venetian dialect received valuable illustration from Gamba, who in 1817 published a collection of the best poetical writers in that idiom in fourteen volumes.

della Pergola kept a school of instruction in philosophy, geometry and arithmetic; and at his death his chair was assumed by Domenigo Bragadino, a Venetian patrician. Near the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista, in Rialto, stood about the same period a house where, every morning and afternoon, public lecturers, salaried by the Government, delivered readings in philosophy and theology. One of the most distinguished lecturers was the noble Antonio Corraro, whose love of literature and intellectual attainments gave him the highest reputation in his own time. At Saint Mark's, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Campanile, there was a school or Academy, where Humanity was taught without any fees; among the earliest professors at that establishment were Giorgio Valla and the historiographer Sabellico.

From the twelfth century, the more highly educated Venetians were usually masters of Latin and Greek. In 1170, Pasquale,[1] Bishop of Equilo, was chosen by Michieli III. as one of his ambassadors to the Byzantine Court, on account of his peculiar conversance with Greek; and this circumstance, while it may indicate the rarity of the accomplishment, establishes its existence. The language generally employed was Latin, and among the lower orders, a dialect composed of words borrowed from the Latin, Norman, and Romanesque. The ignorance of Hebrew necessitated the perusal of the Scriptures in the Vulgate; and it was this necessity more than any other cause, perhaps,

[1] *Vide suprâ*, vol. i. c. 7.

which led to the acquisition of the former. In the first half of the fifteenth century there were several scholars, among whom occur the names of Marco Lippomano[1] and Daniello Reniero, who were competent to read the Bible in the original.

A department in which the Venetians peculiarly shone was Poetry;[2] and it is to be regretted that the numerous works of this kind which do or did exist in the libraries of Italy,[3] have been suffered to remain so widely diffused and so inaccessible. An antient poem, entitled *Leandreis*, on the mythological loves of *Hero and Leander*, by an anonymous Venetian coëval with Petrarch,[4] introduces Dante speaking of the Venetian bards of his day:

> "Dirove alquante nobele persone,
> E primo e Zuan Querin, *che mi fo amicho*
> In vita; e l'altro, che appo lui si pone,
> Zuan Foscharen"——[5]

Quirini, whom Dante here claims as his friend, addressed a madrigal to Matteo Mattivilla of Bologna,[6]

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[1] Blondus (*Italia Illustrata*, sig. II 2).

[2] Morelli (*Dissertazione sulla Cultura della Poesia presso li Veneziani*; Ven., 1796).

[3] In the *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana* (Firenze, 1816, 8°, 2 vols.), *there is not a single Venetian poem.* The Editor has not even included the Sonnet of Antonio Cocco to Sacchetti, which is found in Allacci (*Antichi Poeti*; edit. Napoli, 1661), and of which the first stanza is here given:—

> "Ame e gran gratia, Francho, aver udito
> La fama, che di voi nel mondo corre;
> E questa e stata fondamento e dorre
> A durmi qui sanz' aver altro invito."—(Allacci, *Opere citato.*)

[4] Morelli (*Opere citato*).

[5] Agostini (*Prefaz.* XV.)

[6] Morelli (*Opere citato*).

an acquaintance, in which he begs the latter to transmit to him a copy of the *Acerbà* of Cecco d'Ascoli, containing strictures on the Divina Comedia, and declares himself prepared to vindicate Dante.

A production, belonging (if genuine) to an earlier epoch than the *Leandreis*, and equally anonymous, is called *A lament for the absence of a husband at the Crusade in the East.* The author, who was perhaps a lady, may be no other than "Dona Frisa" herself:

> " Responder voi a Dona Frisa,
> Che me conseia en la soa guisa.
> E dis ch' eo lasse ogni grameza,
> Vezando me senza alegrezza;
> Che me mario se n' e andao,
> Ch'el me cor cum lui a portao;
> Et eo cum ti me Deo comfortare,
> Fin ch'el stara de la da mare——"[1]

Besides Giovanni Quirini,[2] and Giovanni Foscarini, the names are commemorated in the Leandreis of Bernardo Foscarini, and of a second Quirini, Nicolo, Rector of San Basso, and a participator in the Quirini-Tiepolo Conspiracy of 1310,[3] some of whose effusions are in the Barberina collection at Rome.

So far back as 1268, the Merchant-Tailors had recited in the streets of the Capital in honour of the accession of the new Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo[4] ballads

[1] Gamba (*Raccolta di Poesie in Dialetto Veneziano*, pp. 1–2: Ven., 1845; 8°).

[2] This poet must not be confounded with another of the same name who wrote in the sixteenth century, and some of whose pieces are preserved by Gamba.

[3] *V. suprà*, v. iii. c. 16; and Allacci (*Antichi Poeti, Indice*; Nap., 1661; 8°).

[4] *V. suprà*, vol. ii. c. 12.

and scraps of roundelays, either extemporized or committed to memory. It is not hazardous to conclude that these melodies belonged to the rudest school of composition. There is some reason to suppose[1] that the silk-weavers of Lucca, when they forsook their native looms, and fled from the hand of persecution to Venice between 1315 and 1320,[2] introduced to their adopted countrymen the ditties which they had loved so much in happier days, and that this event, while it was fraught with utility to the Republic in a commercial respect, was also instrumental in imparting to Venetian poetry a certain Tuscan element. But it is certain that, long before the Lucchese transmigration, a great reform was wrought in poetry by Bartolomeo Giorgio, a patrician, and almost a contemporary of Tiepolo. By profession Giorgio was a merchant, and his taste for the lyric muse was acquired during a residence which he had made at the Court of the Count of Provence,[3] where he tells us, that many other Italians had congregated for the purpose of studying the literature of the jougleurs and Troubadours. On his return home, the Venetian composed certain songs or *canzonetti*, similar to those which he had heard in Provence; and a revolution was gradually operated in this branch of the liberal arts. The bard had subsequently, and in every probability during

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[1] *Canti del popolo Veneziano raccolti (per la prima volta) da N. Tomasseo*, 1848, p. 8.

[2] *V. suprâ*, v. iii. c. 18.

[3] Foscarini (*Letteratura*, 50, n. 2).

the arduous struggle between his own country and Genoa, the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the enemy, and it seems that he remained in their hands seven years, during which space he possibly wrote many pieces now lost. At all events, of his *Canzone* or *Serventesi*, seventeen[1] only survive in the Vatican; of these five were rendered into prose by the Abbé Millott, who was tolerably felicitous in retaining the spirit of the original.

In the latter moiety of the fourteenth century, flourished Marino Dandolo, Gabriello Bernardo, Maffeo Pesaro, Antonio Cocco, of whom a sonnet to Franco Sacchetti has been discovered in the Barberina, and been printed by Allacci, Marco Piacentino of whose metrical trifles some are in existence, and Filippo Barbarigo, an imitator of Petrarch. During the reign of Andrea Contarini, Pietro da Natali, Bishop of Equilo, composed in terza rima the *Visit of Alexander III. to Venice* (in 1177)[2] which has escaped the ravages of time, and about 1381 Marco Giorgio the theologian finished a Life of the Blessed Felix Benci of Florence, in heroic verse.[3] In the succeeding reign, Lorenzo de Monacis, better known as an historian, dedicated to Mary, Queen of Hungary, the consort of Sigismund,[4] *a Poem on Charles II. of Hungary, called the Little, with a pious description of the miserable haps of the Illustrious Queens of Hungary.*

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[1] Foscarini, *ubi suprâ.* [2] Morelli (*Dissert.*)
[3] P. A. Zeno (*Memorie*, 1662).
[4] Mary died in 1392, according to Bonfinius (*Res Ungaricæ*, 383).

This performance, printed in 1758[1] for the first time, is supposed to have seen the light about 1385–1386. Toward the end of the century, it is said that an Olivetan monk, Matteo Routo, was engaged in turning the Divine Comedy into heroic verse; but it seems to be doubtful, whether the achievement was ever completed.[2] A few decades posterior to Routo, Maffeo Pisani, a priest, produced (1453) a *Lament for Constantinople* in verse, still preserved in print.[3]

Nor was it long before Sacred Poetry grew into fashion. The famous Minorite, Fra Jacopino da Todi, found zealous disciples in Jacopo Valaresso and Leonardo Pisani,[4] both of whom, under the Contarini and Veniero administrations (1368–1400) occupied their leisure with spiritual offerings to the Muse. In or about 1399,[5] the Chevalier Jacopo Gradenigo, Podesta of Padua, whose family had intermarried with the House of Carrara,[6] put a finishing hand to *A Concordance of the Four Gospels*, in terza rima, of which a transcript was among the MSS. treasures of an eminent antiquary and scholar of the last century.[7] A little later, the two sons of Bernardo Giustiniani[8] trod worthily in

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[1] It will be found at the end of Flaminio Cornaro's edition of the *Chronicle of De Monacis*; Ven. 1758.

[2] Morelli (*Opere citato*).

[3] *Il Lamento di Constantinopoli* (presa dai Turchi) 4°. At the end occur the words *Deo Gratias*, and the name of the Author. See Cigogna (*Bibliografia Veneziana*, 1847).

[4] Agostini (*Prefazione*).

[5] Morelli (*Opere citato*).

[6] *V. suprâ*, vol. iii. c. 16.

[7] Apostolo Zeno (*Lettere*; edit. 1785).

[8] Agostini (i. 135).

the footsteps of Valaresso and Pisani, the pupils of Da Todi. The elder, Lorenzo, successively Prior of San Giorgio in Alga, Bishop of Castello, and Patriarch of Venice[1] comprised, among the thirty-six works an various subjects which proceeded from his prolific pen,[2] a small garland of *Spiritual Rhymes*.[3] The future Metropolitan, who was subsequently canonized, was born in 1380;[4] and the composition of these rhymes may be therefore assigned without particular hazard to some period between 1400 and 1410.

Leonardo, who was the junior of San Lorenzo by about eight years, and who pronounced in 1418 the funeral oration on his friend[5] Carlo Zeno,[6] had written in his younger days a volume of *Poesie Volgari*, of a profane cast:[4] but at the persuasion of his brother, he eventually abandoned this school of poetry, and became the author of *Laudi Spirituali*, which were received with applause, and were printed at Venice in 1474.[8] In the following year, they were reproduced at

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[1] Agostini (i. 135). He was the first who bore this title. The metropolitanate was translated from Grado to the Capital in 1451, after flourishing in the former city nine Christian centuries (583-1451). See vol. i. c. 4 of this History.

[2] P. A. Zeno (*Memorie*, 1662, 12°, *in voce*).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Agostini (i. 136).

[5] Bernardo Giustiniani, writing to Giacomo Zeno, the nephew of Carlo, says:—"Vetus illa necessitudo et amicitia, quæ inter præclarum virum Carolum avum tuum Leonardumque patrem meum fuit."

[6] *Viri Patricii Leonardi Justiniani Veneti Oratio habita in funere Caroli Zeni concivis sui*; presso *Epistole di Bernardo Giustiniano* (*suo figlio*), Ven., 1492, folio; and frequently reprinted.

[7] Blondus (*Italia Illustrata*, sig. ĸ 1).

[8] "Incominciano le devotissime et sanctissime Laude le quale compose el Nobele e Magnifico Messer Leonardo Giustiniano."

Vicenza; and such was their popularity, or rather their reputation, that the printer, Leonard of Basle, ventured to take off 1,000 copies![1]

The family of Giustiniani was rarely gifted, and boasted the heraldry of genius as well as of birth. The celebrated Ciriaco De Pizzecolli of Ancona, addressing Leonardo in a sonnet, which was printed for the first time by Agostini, says:—

> "Se stende fino al Ciel con care piume
> La fama del valor Justiniano."[2]

According to the testimony of a contemporary,[3] this gentleman was not only one of the most conspicuous orators of the age, but a passionate musician. After filling several responsible posts under the Government, and attaining the Procuratorial dignity, he died in 1446, in his 58th or 59th year. His *Poesie Volgari* were still in MS., when the *Laudi* were given to the press in 1474; but the former also appeared in 1482, and were republished a few years later, with additions.[4] The metre of the *Canzonetti* is irregular, and occasionally rugged and inharmonious.

To miscellaneous literature, Leonardo Giustiniani contributed translations[5] from Plutarch of the bio-

[1] Agostini (i. 165).

[2] Vol. i. p. 154.

[3] Blondus (*Ital. Illustr.* sig. H 1).

[4] *Comnicio il Fiore delle elegantissime Cancionete dil nobile Messere Leonardo Justiniano.* The colophon is: *Il fine delle elegantissime cancionette di Messere Leonardo Justiniano quivi in Venetia con ogni diligentia impresse per Antonio di Strata a di nove Marzo* MCCCCLXXXII. *in* 4°.

[5] *Canzonette e Strambotti d'amore composte per el Magnifico Miser Leonardo Zustignano di Venetia.*—Impressum Venetiis per Johannem Baptistam Sessa, anno Domini MCCCC(C). die vero xiiii. Aprilis, in 4°.

graphies of Cimon, Lucullus and Phocion, a life of Saint Nicholas the Confessor, Bishop of Myra,[1] containing a prefatory dedication to his brother Lorenzo, then Bishop of Castello, at whose suggestion he had undertaken the labour; numerous letters, printed in 1492; some elegiac verses on the death of Victorino of Feltre; and a book, entitled *Liber Philologicus*, of which little seems to be known, except that it was seen by Montfaucon in the choice library of a private Venetian collector.[2]

In 1409, the wife of Leonardo, reputed to have been Maria Quirini,[3] bore her husband a son, who was christened Bernardo after his grandfather. This Bernardo was destined to attain the highest distinction as an orator and historian. He was thirty-seven when his illustrious parent died; and he was inconsolable for the loss. He immediately called on his uncle Lorenzo, the Bishop, who told him to be of good cheer: "for," said he, "your father is in the path of salvation." "How can you tell that?" responded the young man. "Never mind," persisted the other; "be assured that he is on his way to heaven, and for the rest do not concern yourself!"[4] After the death of San Lorenzo, his nephew became his biographer;

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[1] *Vita Sanctissimi confessoris Nicolai cognomento Magni, ac Myrensis Antistitis admirandi e Græco (Metaphrastis et aliorum) in Latinum translata a Leonardo Justiniano Patritio Veneto, cum præfatione ad Laurentium ejus Fratrem Urbis Venetiarum Episcopum.* (Printed by Aldus, with other opusculi, in 1502, 4°.)

[2] Agostini (i. 174–5). The owner was Bernardo Trevisano.

[3] Agostini (i. 36).

[4] Ibid. (i. 162).

and the Life of the blessed Patriarch was among the earliest productions of the Venetian press. It appeared in 1475;[1] and it was prefixed to the Works of the Saint published at Brescia in 1505. The other performances of the same writer are a funeral oration, which he delivered in 1457, on the Doge Foscari,[2] and a *History of the Origin of Venice* (*De Urbis Venetiarum Origine*), bringing down the annals to the year 809; both in Latin. In the latter, which was translated into the vernacular by Lodovico Domenichi, and printed in 1545, Giustiniani has introduced a variety of interesting particulars, not seen elsewhere: and the genuineness of the narrative is largely established by the circumstance, that it is expressly stated to have been partially founded on the Chronicle of Zeno, Abbot of San Nicolo del Lido[3] from 1070 to 1100. Bernardo, whose life has been written by Antonio Stella, a Venetian priest, and published in 1553,[4] left a son Pancrazio, who in his turn won literary renown.[5]

It is singular enough, that the Father of the Venetian

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[1] Foscarini (*Lett. Venez.*, 324, N 1). [2] Ibid. p. 316.

[3] "*Vidi*" says Giustiniani, "*Chronicon pervetustam apud Sancti Nicolai* (*sic*) *ab abate Zenone confectam.*" It can be proved by existing documents that this Zeno was Abbot in 1072, and that he was still occupying that position in 1100. Giustiniani himself has found a warm panegyrist in Romanin. See iv. 502–3.

[4] *Bernardi Justiniani Patritii Veneti, senatorii, equestris, procuratoriique ordinis viri amplissimi Vita, Antonio Stellâ clerico Veneto authore:* Venetiis, 1553, 8°.

[5] *Pancratii Justiniani patritii Veneti, senatorii equestrisque ordinis, et Comitis Palatini, de præclaris Venetæ aristocratiæ gestis* (1006–1454) *liber* (with two other tracts): Venetiis, 1527, 4°.

Drama was a boy of eighteen. In his college days, Gregorio, the son of Giovanni Corraro by Cecilia Contarini his wife, and the grandnephew of the Cardinal Angelo, founded on the Ovidian tale of Tereus and Philomela a tragedy which he called *Progne*. Corraro was born in 1411, or thereabout. Progne appeared in 1429 or 1430. In a letter written to a noble lady of his acquaintance, he says that he shewed his achievement to his schoolmaster Messer Victorino da Feltre, who kept a seminary at Mantua, and that Messer Victorino, when he saw it, did not quite despair of him; and he adds, that he (Corraro) was so strongly affected by the pathos of the story, that hot tears rolled down his cheeks, while he was reciting it.[1]

Progne was printed anonymously in 1558 by the *Academia della Fama*,[2] and again at Rome in 1638.[3] A MS. copy, bearing the title of *Tereus*, one of the interlocutors, and belonging to the fifteenth century, was discovered at a later period in Germany, and was put in type in 1790.[4] The merit of the treatment rendered the subject popular. In 1561, that is three years only after the appearance of the original Venetian edition, Lodovico Domenichi published at Florence a drama purporting to be of his own conception, and abounding in plagiarisms, entitled *Progne*

[1] Morelli (*Dissert. Stor. sulla Cultura della Poesia presso li Veneziani*, 1796).

[2] *Progne Tragœdia, nunc primum edita:* In Academiâ Famæ, 4°.

[3] *Progne Tragœdia, nunc iterum edita;* Romæ, 1638, 4°.

[4] *Tragœdia vetus Latina Tereus:* Annabergæ, 1790, 4°.

Tragœdia.[1] The subjoined extracts may not be unacceptable:—

Corraro.—(*Diomedes is speaking*).

"Lucos et omnes desero inferni Jovis:
Ad astra mittor supera convexi poli.
Neque enim inter umbras noxius visus furor
Est ullus æque: Thracia, heu! solus potest
Explere furiis corda Diomedes: nefas
Odisse liceat: crimini datum est satis
Satisque sceleri: deprecor sontis plagas:
Amare liceat: Addite ad pœnas meas,
Si quid potestis, dira Furiarum agmina!
Titana pubes exuat vinclis manus
Cœlo rebelles: æneis nodis prematur."

Domenichi.

"Io ne me vengo da l'oscure grotte
De l'empio Re de le perdute genti,
Et son mandato a riveder le stelle,
Et l'aer vostro luminoso: poi
Che fra l'ambrai infernai non s' è veduto
Altro cosi maligno empio furore:
Et i Thracii cuor può Diomede solo
Empiere, oime, di furie e di veleno.
Lecito sia quel che non lice odiare:
Che si son viste assai colpe, e delitti:
Et come reo mi prego ogni gastigo.
Lecito sia che s' ami ogni peccato.
Et voi di Furie abominosa schiera,
S' alcuna e in voi possanza, a le mie pene
Aggiugnetemi pur pena e tormento.
Sciolga le mani loro al Ciel rubelle
L'empie stuol de' giganti——"[2]

But *Progne* was only one of the numerous works, which are ascribed on good authority to Gregorio

[1] *Progne Tragedia di M. Lodovico Domenichi:* In Fiorenza, appresso i Giunti, MDLXI. 8°.

[2] Agostini (i, 128–9).

Corraro. The dramatist dedicated to his grand-uncle, Filippo the Procurator, a translation of fifty-three of the Fables of Æsop and others from Greek into Latin; to his brother Andrea, in 1466,[1] a didactic poem on the Education of Youth;[2] and to his old schoolmaster, Victorino da Feltre, a volume of satires.[3] Sundry odes, epigrams, miscellaneous lyrics, and letters;[4] an Oration delivered before the Emperor Sigismund, at the Council of Basle, in 1433;[5] and a Letter to Saint Cecilia,[6] are also known; but all remain in MS.

The Republic produced two female writers of celebrity, neither of whom, however, was strictly a Venetian. One, Cristina Pisani, or "Christine of Pise," was born at Venice in 1363, of Bolognese parents. Her

[1] Agostini (i. 149–52).

[2] *Quomodo educari debeant pueri et erudiri, Liber didascalicus.*

[3] The contents of this collection are:—(i.) Satire shewing why the Author adopted this class of writing to the exclusion of every other. (ii.) Satire against avarice. (iii.) Satire shewing that men are led by venial faults to great vices. (iv.) Satire to his friend on the fear of death. (v.) Satire shewing that a virtuous life alone can stop the tongues of the vulgar. (vi.) Satire upon himself and his servant David.

[4] These are as follow:—(i.) A book of Epigrams, dedicated to Martin V., the reigning Pontiff (who died in 1431). (ii.) A Pastoral, entitled *Lycidas*, and commencing:—

"Pastoris Licidæ dum (nos?) referamus amores."

(iii.) An Ode in imitation of Horace, called *Dicolos tetrastychos.* (iv.) A Hymn to Boys and Virgins. (v.) A Sapphic Ode against the Turks. (vi.) An Epigram on the Tomb of Gregory XII. (vii.) An Epigram to a Friend. (viii.) Two Epigrams and a Distich to Antonio Ricchi, Sculptor. (ix.) A Letter to a Carthusian Noviciate on the advantages of a regular life. (x.) Letters. (xi.) A Soliloquy on the Life and Death of Antonio, Bishop of Ostia, of blessed memory.

[5] *Oratio Gregorii Corrarii Veneti Romanæ Ecclesiæ Protonotharii ad Sigismundum Imperatorem pro Concilio Basiliensi.*

[6] *Epistola ejusdem ad Cæciliam Virginem de fugiendo sæculo.*

father, Tommaso Pisani, a renowned astrologer of his day, left the city in 1368, and settled in France with his wife and daughter, the latter of whom never revisited the spot of her nativity. All her productions are in French. The principal are:—1. *The Life of Charles the Wise, King of France*, her father's patron, written on commission for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; 2. *The Faits of Armes and Chivalry*, a compilation from Vegetius *De Re Militari*, printed by Caxton at Westminster, in 1489; 3. *The Book of the City of Ladies*, translated by Bryan Ansley or Annesley, and printed at London, in 1521; 4. *The Moral Proverbs of Cristine*, translated by Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers, and printed by Caxton at Westminster, in 1478; 5. a volume of Amatory Poems, printed at Paris in 1529. Many of her compositions remain in MS., and are scattered over the public libraries of England and the Continent. Pisani is said to have died in or about 1420. The most complete account of her life and writings is that furnished in the second volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

The second lady, who belongs to the end of the fifteenth century, was Cassandra Fedeli, a Venetian subject, but merely a native of the Terra-Ferma. Fedeli enjoyed the esteem of many of her learned contemporaries. In 1488, on graduating as doctor at Padua, she delivered before the university a Latin speech of her own composition, which was warmly admired.[1]

[1] See Agostini (*Notizie degli Scrittori Viniziani*, ii. 477–8, 485, 601).

The sister-arts, History, Music, Painting, and Architecture, were not less dear to the Republic, and were pursued not less ardently or profitably. Here, too, typography and bibliography were honoured with steady and splendid patronage. Of Martino da Canale and the other independent writers who are not included in the series of historiographers, and who appeared at successive periods, mention has been made in another place. Bibliomania, the passion for collecting books, dated from a very remote period. Aurispa, the Venetian De Bure, possessed a library of 238 MSS., among which were the works of Plato, Procopius, and Callimachus.

The Public Library, which is most familiarly known under the designation of *Saint Mark's Library*, was originally a very small collection, and boasted, perhaps, little more than the few volumes bequeathed by Petrarch in 1362, with some later additions, until it was enriched, in 1468,[1] by a donation of the literary treasures of Cardinal Bessarion, acquired at a cost of 30,000 sequins. It was then that by the Grimani Bequest[2] (1506), by an amalgamation with the old library of San Giorgio Maggiore, which had been enlarged under the reign of the Doge Foscari by Cosimo de' Medici, and was thence called the Medicean, and by private gifts, the National Institution gradually received that enormous development, which conferred upon it European celebrity.

[1] Romanin (iv. 501).

[2] Sanudo, *Diarii*, vi. 281, Giugno 26, 1506 (quoted by Romanin, iv. 510).

The culture of Music appears, from an allusion in the Chronicles of San Giorgio Maggiore under the date of 790, to have found affectionate promoters among the members of this holy fraternity at that epoch. The knowledge of instrumental harmony made such rapid progress that a Venetian priest (Fra Gregorio) was invited into France, about 826, to superintend the construction of an hydraulic organ for the Royal Family. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Mister Zuchetto (*Veneticè*, Mistro) is mentioned as filling the appointment of organist to the Chapel of Saint Mark; but it is not to be supposed for an instant, that Mister Zuchetto was the first who had served in that capacity.

The ardour of bibliographical research, the earnest spirit of literary inquiry, and the desire to become acquainted with the best classic models, which began toward the middle of the fifteenth century to animate her patricians and merchant-princes, had the natural effect of securing to Venice the finest and largest collection of MSS. in the world. Many other private individuals followed the example of the enthusiast Aurispa, and formed similarly choice and precious cabinets. The Venetians became the highest bidders for autograph or unique codices. Bibliomania was here seen in its healthiest aspect; and the passion, so far from being pernicious, was productive of the most salutary results. But the generous thirst for knowledge, and the widening appreciation of the master-

pieces of the antients, soon led to an increased demand for those compositions which rank among the noblest efforts of human genius; and a gigantic revolution was wrought in course of time in the character of literature and the history of books. The Republic, though not the cradle of typography, shewed herself almost at the outset one of its most magnificent patronesses. On the 18th September, 1469, the Senate, seeing "that this peculiar invention of our time, altogether unknown to those former (ages), is in every way to be fostered and advanced,"[1] accorded to John da Spira, for five years, the right of printing books. In the same twelvemonth, Spira produced the *Familiar Letters* of Cicero and the *Natural History* of Pliny; and of the latter, at least, if not of both, a few copies were struck off on vellum. The privilege granted to John da Spira, and afterward to his brother Vindelin, did not, however, long remain exclusive. In 1470, the monopoly was broken by Nicholas Jenson, a Dutchman, who had, on his way through Venice to France, as it is said, been tempted by the Signory to remain in the Republic. The work of Pliny was at this period so popular, that in 1476 the new-comer printed an Italian version in a large folio volume, which is still of common occurrence; a few years ago, the Bibbia Volgare, which proceeded from the same press in 1471, was reproduced at Turin; and these two publications only form a very small part

[1] Romanin (iv. 510).

of that long and numerous series which entitle Jenson to rank high among the early masters of the typographical art.

Under the administration of seven Doges, and contemporary with Marco Polo, a gentleman of Ducal and Tribunitial family dwelled at Venice in the street of San Severo Confessore, who was ennobled by his contributions to literature and science as well as by his extraction. His name was Marino Sanudo Torsello. He was one of the four sons of Marco Sanudo Torsello by his wife Maria;[1] his brothers were Filippo, Tommaso and Giovanni; and it seems that he was connected by the ties of consanguinity with Nicolo, the son of Guglielmo, the son of Marco Sanudo, first duke of Andros,[2] and nephew of Arrigo Dandolo. It is surmised that the Sanudi and the Torselli, who were more antiently known as the Basaniti,[3] had intermarried, and that thence arose the hereditary cognomen, which was common to all the children of Marco. The precise date of the birth of Marino has not been ascertained; but he was probably the junior of Polo by some years; and the event may be assigned without the chance of serious error to 1260. From his youth an ardent enthusiasm for the diminution of Turkish preponderance shared

[1] SEPULTVRA D. MARCI SANUDO TORSELLO ET D. MARIÆ VXORIS EJVS ET HEREDVM DE CONFINIO S SEVERI. IN QVA REQVIESCIT JOANNES FERATE EORVM FILIVS. CVJVS ANIMA REQVIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN. ORATE PRO EO.

The foregoing inscription is reported by Agostini (i. 441).

[2] *Epistolæ M. Sanudi Torselli; Gesta Dei per Francos, passim.*

[3] Andrea Dandolo (lib. vii. p. 156).

with a thirst for geographical discovery his time and attention. The rank, talents, and affluent circumstances of the Venetian gradually procured for him the acquaintance and esteem of many distinguished personages of the age, and of more than one crowned Head; and of his access to the French Court especially he availed himself unceasingly to urge the organization of a fresh crusade against the Ottoman. If his counsel had been followed, it is scarcely too much to assert that the destiny of Europe would have been changed, and that neither Nicopolis nor Lepanto would have been fought.

In an undated memorial to the King of France[1] written in French, and assignable to 1321, Sanudo demonstrates that it will only cost his Majesty or Christendom ten galleys, carrying 2,500 men, 300 horse, and 1,000 infantry to guard Armenia.[2] He recommends him to seek the concurrence of the Pope, and the friendship of the Venetians, and to appoint some competent person Captain of the Host; and if he does these things, he makes no doubt that other European Powers will co-operate.[3]

[1] *Ramembranze a la Royale Maiesté faite humblement et devotement par Marin Sanud, dict Torzel, de Venise, &c.—Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 5.

[2] In another place he says: "If any one were to ask me, how many men, &c., I answer reverently, I, Marinus Sanutus, dictus Torsellus, that with 300 horse, 1,000 foot, and 10 galleys, well armed, not only Armenia, but Romania itself could be protected."—*G. D. per F.*, p. 7.

[3] "Et si vostre haulte Seigneurie faict ceste chose, je ne doubte pas, avec layde de Dieu, que le Roy *Robert*, le Roy Frederic de Secille, et l'Empereur de Constantinople, seront obeissants a vous en toutes choses, qui seront raionnables."

Like the majority of his compatriots, Sanudo was a cosmopolite. The greater part of his active and useful life was spent in foreign countries. His travels, which were chiefly prosecuted between 1300 and 1320, extended over the whole coast of the Mediterranean, Egypt, the Holy Land, Armenia, and Arabia Felix. In one passage which, it must be premised, is not free from the suspicion of being an interpolation in the MS.[1] he speaks of the smaller Islands lying about England, Scotland, and Ireland, "the names of which are unknown to me;" and it is clear at least that he is not to be understood to have visited personally the northern latitudes, but simply to be quoting some other traveller, who may have forestalled not only the two Zeni, but the Normans,[2] in their discovery of Friesland, Greenland and Newfoundland.

In March, 1306, we at last find Sanudo at home, in the street of San Severo in Rialto; he had returned from some of his Oriental voyages; and in that year and month[3] he began to commit to writing the fruits of his labour and experience. The first Book only of the Work so celebrated as *The Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, was finished at that time and place. In this division,[4] which comprises five parts, he demon-

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[1] *Secreta*, p. 287.

[2] Rafn (*Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands*, 1854).

[3] "Anno a nativitate D. N. J. C. 1306, mense Martii, inceptum est hoc opus, quod per Dei gratiam Marinus Sanudo aliter dictus Torsellus, filius D. Marci Sanudo," &c.—*Secreta*, p. 21.

[4] "Incipit Liber Primus Operis Terræ Sanctæ, continens dispositionem ac præparationem ad Terram Sanctam recuperandam."

strates the method, by which in his opinion it was possible to compass the destruction of the infidels; and in fact it is nothing more than the Memorial subsequently sent to Paris in a more elaborate form. The second book of the Secrets, composed at Clarence in 1312[1] and 1313, enters into statistical and arithmetical detail touching the recovery of Palestine; his estimates for manning and victualling fleets and armies are curious, but rather prolix; and he lays peculiar stress on the preparatory conquest of Armenia. Of the third and concluding section, which is devoted to a speculation on the means of preserving the Holy Places, when they should have been won back,[2] and which is partly occupied by genealogical trees of Noah, and other not less extraneous topics, the chronology is obscure; but it was certainly posterior to 1324, and as certainly antecedent to 1326 when, in a letter to the Duke of Lotharingia,[3] he expressly says: "Your Highness must be aware that from my *infancy* I have (neglecting all other business) devoted myself to the advancement of the glory of Christ, to the service of the Faithful, and to the extinction of the Pagans; and in order that my labours might be made known to Kings and Princes, and might not pass into oblivion, I have digested into one volume the work of which the title is

[1] *Secreta*, p. 34. "I *began* to write it in the month of December, 1312, at Clarence."

[2] "Incipit Liber Tertius ejusdem Operis, continens infallibilem et veram doctrinam conservandi ac tenendi ac possidendi Sanctam Terram Promissionis."

[3] *Letters*, No. 14. *G. D. per F.* ii. 303.

"Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross," being not only for the preservation of the Faithful, but for the conversion or annihilation of the Misbelievers, and for the safe holding of the Holy Land and many other countries.[1] That book I have presented to our Lord the Pontiff, to the Kings of France, England, and Sicily, to the Cardinals and many other Prelates, to the Count of Hanover, and to several of the French Counts; and seeing that your progenitors, in whose happy footsteps you are beginning to tread, strenuously bestirred themselves in the affairs of the Holy Land. . . . . I send you with these presents the Prologue, Rubrics, and Chapters of the aforesaid book, and some other matters. I am ready to transmit to you the whole work, with the maps of the world, should you express a desire to possess it." Of such a performance, exhibiting his skill at once as an hydrographer and geographer, the author had just cause to be proud. It was welcomed with applause; and by competent judges it was warmly approved. Sanudo must be allowed to speak once more for himself:[2]—

"On the 24th September, 1321, I, Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, of Venice, had an audience of the Pope, to whose Holiness I presented two books on the recovery and preservation of the Holy Land, one of which was bound in red, and the other in yellow. I presented to the same four maps, the first being

[1] "Et tenendam Terram Sanctam et alias multas terras."—*Epist. ubi suprâ.*

[2] *Secreta*, p. 1 *et seq.*

of the Mediterranean, the second of the Sea and the Terra-Ferma, the third of the Holy Land, and the fourth of Egypt. The Father benignly accepted all these things; and he ordered some of the Prologue, some of the Rubrics, and other portions besides, to be read in my presence. From time to time he put questions to me, which I answered. At length he said, 'I wish to have these books examined;' to which I replied, that 'I should be very happy, provided that the persons were trustworthy.' 'Have no doubt of that,' he rejoined. He then sent for the undermentioned Frati: Fra Boentio di Asti, of the Order of Preachers, Vicar of Armenia; Fra Jacopo de Cammerino, a Minorite, who wears a beard, and who had come to the See on behalf of his brethren in Persia; Fra Matteo of Cyprus, and Fra Paolino of Venice:[1] and he gave them the volume bound in yellow, and desired them to look into it, and to report to him their opinion. The said Frati hereupon withdrew into the house of Fra Paolino, and diligently and faithfully investigated the Book; and they were unanimous in its favour. On the thirtieth day after the commencement of the examination—it was on a Saturday evening—he (the Pope), who was most affable to me, inquired of the Frati repeatedly, when we were together, whether they were of accord; and they assured him that they were. Other remarks were made on

[1] This was perhaps the same who wrote the Treatise *De Recto Regimine*, dedicated to the Duke of Candia in 1313, or the following year. *Vide suprâ.*

both sides. At last the Pope observed: 'The hour is late; you will be so good as to leave the report in writing with me, and I will inspect it, and afterward send for you.' And so," concludes Sanudo, "the book and the report remained in his possession."

The letters of this benevolent and enlightened Venetian, of which all that are known, being two-and-twenty, were printed as a supplement to the Secreta in 1611,[1] abound with interesting matter, and occasionally contain curious scraps of gossip. They purport to have been written at Venice, and range in date from December, 1324, to October, 1329. It is obvious that they represent only a fragment of his correspondence.

Of these epistles considerable use has been made in illustrating the Venetian Annals from 1320 to 1329; and it is unnecessary to give them any farther attention.

There is no more remarkable fact connected with the Life of the Author of the Secreta, than the

[1] *Secreta*, 289–316. (i) To the Pope John XXII., Dec. 1324. (ii.) To the Cardinals. (iii.) To the Archbishop of Capua, Chancellor of Sicily. (iv.) To the Bishop of Mimes. (v.) Ad diversos. (vi.) To Leo, King of Armenia. (vii.) To And. Palæologus, Emp. of Constantinople. (viii.) To the Bishop of Caiaphas. (ix.) To And. Palæologus, Emp. of Constantinople. (x.) To Stefanos Simpolos, Turcoman of the same. (xi.) To the Archbishop of Capua. (xii.) To And. Palæologus. (xiii.) To Stephanos Simpolos. (xiv.) To the Duke of Lotharingia. (xv.) To the Archbishop of Ravenna. (xvi.) Ad diversos. (xvii.) To the Cardinal Legate. (xviii.) To the Archbishop of Capua. (xix.) To the Cardinal Legate. (xx.) To the Archbishop of Capua et alterum. (xxi.) To Pietro de la Via, the Pope's nephew. (xxii.) Ad anonimum.

circumstance that he does not seem either to have been personally known to Marco Polo, who was living in a street adjoining San Severo after 1301, the date of his release from the Genoese dungeon, or to have inspected any of the numerous transcripts of the autograph of Rustichelli of the Voyages in Tartary, China and Thibet, which are known to have been circulating in Europe even prior to 1300. In those parts of his own narrative, where he has occasion to treat more or less at large of the latitudes visited by Polo, Sanudo, overlooking the more recent authority, falls back on preceding and probably far less accurate observers: nor is Polo among those who are mentioned as recipients of presentation-copies of the Secreta. We must not be too certain that the latter had not omitted, from inadvertence perhaps, to send Torsello a transcript of his dictated original, which he distributed liberally in other quarters, and that the neglect did not breed a coolness, which was carried to mischievous consequences.[1]

The sketch which precedes of the state of literature and science in the Republic from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, carries its own moral. It shews conclusively that it is not by their feats of diplomacy and arms so much that the Venetian people have earned a title to admiration and respect, as by their

[1] Pier Angelo Zeno, in his *Memorie de' Veneti Scrittori Patrizi*, 1662, 12°, attributes to Torsello, besides his *Secreta* and a *Book of Letters*, a *History of the Morea*. Possibly the last has perished: for only one copy of the others is known to exist.

mental culture, their love of learning, and their thirst for knowledge; and it shews that any one who may desire to make himself acquainted with their history must seek it in the pages of the admirable Foscarini, as well as in the Journals of the Decemvirs.

DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

LETTER *of* CASSIODORUS, *the Prætorian Prefect of* THEODORIC *the Great, King of the Goths, to the Maritime Tribunes of Venice.* A.D. 523.

Tribunis Maritimorum, Senator Præfectus Prætorio.

Datâ pridem jussione censuimus, ut Istria vini, et olei species, quarum præsenti anno copia indulta perfruitur, ad Ravennatem feliciter dirigeret mansionem. Sed vos, qui innumerosa navigia in ejus confinio possidetis, pari devotionis gratia providete, ut, quod illa parata est nobis tradere, vos studeatis sub celeritate portare. Similis erit quippe utrisque gratia perfectionis, quando unum ex his dissociatum impleri non permittit effectum. Estote ergo promptissimi ad vicina, qui sæpe spatia transcurritis infinita, per hospitia quodammodo vestra discurritis, qui per patriam navigatis. Accedit etiam commodis vestris, quod vobis aliud iter aperitur perpetuâ securitate tranquillum: nam cum, ventis sævientibus, mare fuerit clausum, via vobis panditur per amœnissima fluviorum. Carinæ vestræ per flatus asperos non pavescunt. Terram cum summâ felicitate attingunt, et perire nesciunt, quæ frequenter impinguat. Putatur eminus quasi per prata ferri, cum eorum contigit alveum non videri. Tractæ funibus ambulant, quæ stare rudentibus consueverunt, et, conductione mutatâ, pedibus juvant homines naves suas; vectrices sine labore trahunt, et pro favore velorum utuntur passu prosperiore nautarum. Juvat referre, quemadmodum habitationes vestras sitas esse prospeximus. Venetiæ prædicabiles quondam plenæ nobilibus ab Austro Ravennam Padum-que contingunt; ab Oriente jucunditate Ionii litoris perfruuntur, ubi alternus æstus egrediens modo claudit, modo aperit faciem reciprocâ inundatione

Venetian ships.

Inland trade.

Description of Venice.

Amphibious existence.

camporum. Hic vobis aquatilium avium more domus est: nam, qui nunc terrestris, modo cernitur insularis, ut illic magis existimes esse Ciclades, ubi subito locorum facies respicis immutatas; earum quippe solitudine per æquora longe patentia domicilia videntur sparsa, quæ non natura protulit, sed hominum cura fundavit. Viminibus enim flexilibus illigatis, terrena illis soliditas aggregatur, et marino fluctui tam fragilis munitio non dubitatur opponi. Scilicet quando vadosum litus moles arcere nescit undarum, et sine viribus fertur quod altitudinis auxilio non juvatur. Habitatoribus igitur una copia est, ut solis piscibus expleantur. Paupertas ibi cum divitibus sub æqualitate convivit; unus cibus omnes reficit; habitatio similis universa concludit; nesciunt de penatibus invidere, et sub hâc mensurâ degentes evadunt vitium, cum mundum constat esse obnoxium. In salinis autem exercendis tota contentio est. Pro aratris, pro falcibus cilindros volvitis. Inde vobis fructus omnis enascitur, quando in ipsis et quæ non facitis possidetis. Moneta quodammodo illic percutitur victualis; arti vestræ omnis fructus additus est. Potest aurum aliquis quærere, nemo est, qui non salem desideret invenire: merito, quando isti debetur omnis cibus, qui potest esse gratissimus; proinde naves, quas, more animalium, vestris parietis illigâstis, diligenti curâ reficite, ut, cum vos vir expertissimus Laurentius, qui ad procurandas spes (opes?) directus est, commonere tentaverit, festinatis excurrere, quatenus expensas necessarias nullâ difficultate tardetis, qui pro qualitate aeris compendium vobis eligere potestis itineris.

Dykes and fascines.

Social equality.

Salt trade.

Money.

No. II.

The WILL *of* FORTUNATO, *Patriarch of Grado.* A.D. 825.

Quæ legavit, et fecit FORTUNATUS, Patriarcha Ecclesiæ suæ.

Inprimis altare S. Euphemiæ cum auro, et argento, et desuper duos Damaschinos, et unam purpuram, et unum

fundulum, et unum Istoriale cum istoria de epifania, lineas duas cortinas historiales, quæ circundant tota sedilia, unde misi . . . . velo majore ante reges, quæ emi de Christophoro episcopo mancosos viginti, et alia. Uno Venedo majore misi tabulatum in ambas scolas de ecclesiæ S. Euphemiæ, duas coronas argenteas majores; in unâ ardet cesendelli centum. In aliâ ecclesiâ feci tales coronas, quales in Italiâ non sunt. Turres majores duas patenas, quales in ipsâ ecclesiâ multæ fuere; coronas aureas . . . . . habuimus turribulo parvo de auro . . . . . solidi auri mancosos xxx. et II. Feci majore similiter de argento pergula ante altare majore. Item omnia vasa deaurata et deargentata fronte, quæ mihi . . . . . dedit, valentiâ R[omanatos] 70. Cortinam, quam mihi donavit socera Passibo, quam ego volui comparare de illâ li. 40; tamen non minus illi merui ad sedem S. Marci peciam unam, quæ fuit comparata l[ibras] xv. Cortinas lineas duas, una de cubitis L. et V., aliam de 30. Illas tulit dericiator in suâ mercede; fecit exinde camisias et bragas ad suos clericos. Duas cortinas . . . . . choro paratas cum brandeo velo, id est ante cancellos de secretorio. Ad corpora beatissimorum martyrum fabricavi altaria de auro et de argento in longitudine pedes XV., et in latitudine tres et semisse; et post ipsum altare alium parietem deauratum et deargentatum similiter longitudine pedum XV., et in altitudine pedes 4; et super ipso pariete arcus volutiles de argento, et super ipsos arcus imagines de auro et de argento, et super ipsa corpora peccias 8, quod ego misi . . . . . et de ipsa fecimus et in circuitu per cancellos ad ipsa corpora velo majore unum istoriale ante regias S. Quirini; et dedi Mauriano magistro argentum ad facere Templos nescio aut tres aut quatuor . . . . . et feci ibi altare unum. Tulit ipsos templos clericus ad ordinem Mauriano, et destruxit ipsum altare, et fecit exinde illos templos de S. Quirino; et medium parietem in longitudine de illo altari, quod tulit de ecclesiâ S. Pantaleonis de Novâ Civitate; et super ipsa corpora misi peccias tres ante regias S. Marci velum I., in circuitu altaris quadrabulum I., super altare similiter capsa, quæ venit co m

parata de Constantinopoli, libras x. ; et altare, et super altare, et in circuitu altaris, pecciam unam. In oratorio ante corpora S. Quirini tria ædificavi altaria: unum in honorem S. Michaelis, aliud S. Pauli, tertium S. Benedicti : et ipsa in circuitu et desuper honorifice coperui : in S. Laurentio blata I., et desuper Macioda una : ad S. Paulum in circuitu altaris quadrabulum I., et desuper similiter : ad fontes S. Johannis in circuitu quadrabulum unum, et desuper fundi . . . . . in circuitu fontis velum lineum unum. In Ecclesiâ S. Mariæ . . . . . altare, et in circuitu fundato majore I. et unum damaschinum, et unum frodatum album, et de . . . . . vaudum jam libras XII., et, si Deo placuerit, adimplere cupio, et credo in Deo, et vos nolite dubitare, quod dico, Deo jubente sic facio ; et coperui ipsam ecclesiam de plumbo de dono sancti imperii, et de meo certamine ; et stravi ipsum porticum cum lapide usque in plateam publicam. In S. Zenone, in circuitu altaris, et desuper, palchum unum. Ad S. Pancratium similiter. Ecclesia S. Agatæ, ubi requiescunt 40 et duo martyres, erat in ruinis posita ; et quando impetus maris veniebat, usque ad ipsa corpora ambulabat, sed tanta erat Dei misericordia, quod ipsa aqua feriebat parietes longe de ipsa corpora pedes 5, quod plures nostri sacerdotes viderunt. Ego autem cum Dei misericordiâ re-edificavi eam a fundamentis in altitudinem et longitudinem, ubi impetus maris accedere nunquam potest ; et super ipsa feci arcus volutiles et super ipsos alios arcus volutiles ; et feci ibi altare in honorem SS. Felicis et Fortunati paratum cum auro et argento, et ante ipsa corpora subter . . . . . similiter altare paratum cum auro et argento ; et desuper capsam, quæ empta fuit in Constantinopoli libras XV. ; et super ipso arcu volutili, qui est super altare SS. Felicis et Fortunati edificavi altaria IV., S. Ceciliæ, S. Eugeniæ, S. Agneti, et S. Felicitati. Et post corpora beatissimorum martyrum in illâ absiâ edificavi altare S. Luciæ, laus Deo Omnipotenti ! illa altaria de palliis et linteaminibus honorifice co-operta sunt ; et dedi ibi patenas et calices de argento, et unum casale in Pencircus cum vineis, et

terris, et olivetis, quæ ego emi (empsi) de filiis Badoario. Et non recordo aut unum aut duos casales, qui pertinent de jure S. Ecclesiæ nostræ; et dedi ibi argentum libras x. in manum Agno Corepiscopo. Et omnem consuetudinem de S. Ecclesiâ sic prendat, sicut archipresbyter, aut archidiaconus; et dedi ibi unam casam prope ipsam ecclesiam, quam emi (empsi) de hominibus de Bevaziano. Ecclesiam autem S. Peregrini, quam Gradisiani (Gradenses) in illorum peccato fundamenta everterunt pro timore Franchorum, nos, Deo jubente, a fundamentis re-edificavimus: et scolas, mansiones, et porticos in honore edificavimus. Ecclesia autem S. Joannis major (majoris) tota erat vasta (vastata), et scola in ruinis posita; quare et ego, nec alii introire . . . . . ante habuit traves 18. Ego autem feci venire magistros de Franciâ: misi ibi traves . . . . . .

Desunt hic multa

Monasterio S. Dei Genitricis Mariæ in insulâ Barbinio dedi argenti libras 30; navem cum armaturâ suâ, grani modia centum: misimus ibi presbyteros et clericos, qui ibi Deum cœli quotidie laudant. Monasterium S. Juliani in insulâ . . . ., quod in ruinis positum erat, edificavimus; misimus ibi presbyteros, et dedi illi argenti libras 2, ut ibi diu noctuque officium faciant. In sanctâ Ecclesiâ majori dedi per sacerdotes inter . . . . . et sericos planetas XVI. credo et amplius; Dalmaticos IX.; septem sunt: et de unâ fecit sibi Diaconus Venerius (Veniero) tunicam, et de aliâ Mauricius, qui in perditione ambulavit, tunicas sericas octo de bono linteamine ad omne subdiacono; et acolytos, de alio linteamine per sanctas Ecclesias intus et foras credo quod intuere non possum. Dimisi per illas insulas cavallos XII.: Deus scit, meliores fuere de quinquagenos vel sexagenos mancosos; arma, lino, lana, canabe, coria, filtros, strumas, Ursinas, scrineas ferro amplius valentes quam centum libras; vini amphoras amplius quam ducentum, sine alias causas quod ego non possum recordare XVIII. Caldarias majores comparavi de illos missos, qui illos rame de casâ . . . . magistro militc tulerat. Breve . . . . . in domo S. Hermagoræ inveni: in primis,

grani modia XV., vini amphoras 9, auri facti *pesante* mancosos XXX. et III.; argenti facti de mesa libras 71. Ego inde habeo hic ad me bo[nas] libras 21. Sic perpensi quod in domo remansit, si plus invenis inter ista, quæ ego habeo, et illa, tunc sciatis quod demptum de meo de certamine est; et si minus invenis, si Deo placuerit, ego illa habeo restaurare de toto isto per viventem in secula non voto me habere, sed omnia revertar in sanctâ Ecclesiâ. Laudo ego Deo de meo habeo completa missa, quod ad me habeam, thesaurus S. Ecclesiæ omnis salvus est, quod ibi inveni certe fuit unus calix parvulus et non benefactus, per viventem in secula non pensavit amplius libris 114, ad augen[dum] 4 mancosos transmisi in Franchiam, et bonas gemmas adamantinas et jaguntos, ut faceret meliore et majore, si sanus est et vivus Ludovicus (Louis the Pious). Ego credo quod S. Ecclesia illum perdere non habet, et si aliquid . . . . venit, confido in Deo. Non vado de istâ luce, antequam ego restaurare credite; non propheta sum, nec filius prophetæ, nam promissa a Deo, sic erit, quod in magno honore, et gratia S. Imperii in S. meâ Ecclesiâ reverso (reversus) in pace et tranquillitate vobiscum diebus vitæ meæ gaudebo. (*Cassiod. Op.* I. 187).

No. III.

CORONATION OATH *of the Doge* ARRIGO DANDOLO. A.D. 1192.

Ista sunt quæ observare tenemus nos Henricus Dandolus Dei gratia dux usque dum vixerimus in ducatu. Regimen [patriæ]
Dispensation of justice. faciemus [et sta]tum observabimus bona fide. Et studiosi erimus ad rationem et justitiam omnibus qui eam quæsierint et quæri fecerint exhibendam [sine dila]cione aliqua, bona fide, sine fraude, nisi remanserit per majorem partem consilii sive sub districtione s . . . . . ad complendas leges et justitias
Pleas. quæ judicio judicum fuerint promulgatæ, studiosi erimus bona fide, [sine fraude, ducere ad complementum. De] placitis

qui ante nos venerint nullum per fraudem aliquam dilatabimus. Si vero judices nostri in proferenda lege discordes [aliquando] paruerint, unde nos legem dicere debeamus, in meliorem partem quæ nobis videbitur, secundum usum [nos ponemus]. Ubi [vero usus] nobis defecerit, dicemus secundum nostram conscientiam, sine fraude. Nullum servicium tollemus nec tolli [faciemus ad juvandum] aut nocendum aliquam partem vel ullum hominem. Et si per nos aliquis servicium inde tulerit, [ex quo nobis notum fuerit, faciemus] reddi bona fide, sine fraude. Nullum quoque servici[um toll]emus nec tolli faciemus de aliquo f..... ve nec circa comune Veneciarum. Honorem autem et proficuum Veneciarum consiliabimus, tractabimus et operabimus [bona fide, sine fraude. Omnia quoque] secreta consilia quæ nos cum majori parte consilii teneri jusserimus, secrete servabimus [secundum ordinem quem nos percipiemus]. Et si in tempore nostro alicui personæ vel personis de habere vel possessionibus aut redditibus [comunis Veneciarum aliquid datum vel collauda]tum fuerit, dationem vel collaudationem illam firmam non habebimus, nisi prius per majorem partem [consilii consiliata fuerit et confir]mata. De rebus quæ per majorem partem consilii erunt [veti]tæ, sigillum nulli personæ dabimus, [nisi per majorem partem consiliariorum] fuerit collaudatum. De universis chartulis falsis quæ nobis ostensæ fuerint studiosi erimus [ad earum exceptionem] faciendam, secundum usum patriæ nostræ. Si patriarchalis nostra Gradensis mater ecclesia inordinata [remanserit, electio novi] patriarchæ in universo cetu cleri nostri et populi dimittemus, unde nullum servicium ex[quirere debemus. Electionem episcoporum in suorum] filiorum cleri et populi similiter potestate relinquemus, sine exactione servicii; electionem [monasteriorum sibi suffra]gantium in ipsorum congregationibus cum suis episcopis, simili modo, absque servicio. De quadrages[imo et aliis rationibus quas vicedomini nostri] comunis tollere consueverunt et de illo quod pervenit de marchia Warnerii, exceptis pomis [qui de Lombardia venerint,

Common-law. Equity.

Obligations of the Doge.

The Doge and the Parliament

False affidavits.

Election of Metropolitans; of Bishops.

Tithes and fortieths.

habere] debemus duas partes, et vicedomini tertiam. Nos intromittere non debemus neque de [quinto quod per mare intrat neque de Castello] novo per nos, hoc est per propriam utilitatem, neque de datione sigilli salis quod apud Caput [aggeris tollebatur] ..... Decem naves bellicas armatas nos de toto expendio faciemus, quadragesim ..... et sagittariorum. Legationes et epistolas ad Romanum Pontificem et ad imperatores et reges sine [majori parte consilii] non mittemus. Judices in palatio nostro sine electione non faciemus. Notarios sine majori [parte consilii et collaudatione] populi non faciemus. De nulla offensione adversum nos facta, sine judicio judicum, aliquam inquis[itionem non faciemus. De] comunibus quidem negotiis servabimus ea quæ per majorem partem consilii erunt ordinata, ex quo [nobis dicta fuerint per sacramenti] districtionem. De facto quod pertinuerit specialiter ad ducatum ea servabimus unde omnes consi[liarii minoris consilii erunt] concordes cum majori parte consilii majoris, ex quo nobis dicta fuerint per sacramenti districtionem, [dum tamen antequam] sententietur, si fuerit aliquis in consilio qui nobis non sit debito fidelitatis astrictus, et requisitus a nobis [tunc cum habebitur de ipso] facto tractatus, nobis fidelitatem juraverit. Hæc omnia quam singula quæ superius dicta sunt bona fide sine fraude [servabimus dum] vixerimus in nostro ducatu, excepto quod si quis nobis non erit fidelitate astrictus ..... am et eam facere nobis noluerit.—(*From Arch. Stor. Ital. tom.* IX. pp. 327-9.)

Election of Judges; of Notaries.

No. IV.

COMMERCIAL PRIVILEGES *granted to the* VENETIANS *by* LEO I., *King of Armenia, at the request of the Doge* ENRICO DANDOLO, *and of the Venetian Ambassador,* JACOPO BADOARO. A.D. 1201.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen.

Notum sit omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris, quod

ego Leo filius Stephani de potenti genere Rupinorum, Dei gratia Rex Armeniorum, tam pro parte omnium heredum et successorum meorum quam mea, dono et concedo per privilegium firmum mandatum a modo in perpetuum nobili Henrico Dandulo, illustri Duci Venetie, Dalmacie et Croacie, et omnibus Veneticis, super hoc quod a me requirit per Iacobum Baduarium, filium Ioannis Badoarii militis, providum, discretum nuncium et concivem suum, scilicet licenciam et securitatem salvo eundi et redeundi omni terra mea, et per totam terram meam, quam modo habeo, et quam Deo dante acquisiturus sum. Ex regali itaque munificentia mea, ipsius requisitione, dono et concedo plenius ei, omnibusque successoribus suis, et omnibus Veneticis, amore et honore suo, omniumque Venetorum, sicut continetur in presenti privilegio, libertatem per terram et per mare in civitatibus, in portibus, in pontis, eundi et redeundi cum quibuslibet mercimoniis, intrandi et exeundi cum quibuslibet mercimoniis; et habeant potestatem plenam vendendi et emendi quelibet mercimonia per totam terram meam, et extrahendi de tota terra mea, salve, secure, libere, quiete, sine omni servitio, sine omni drictura, sine omni angaria, et sine omni passagio: excepto quod Venetici habitantes semper in eis marinis partibus, et transierint per portellam, teneantur ibi persolvere dricturam, sicut solitum est ab omnibus Christianis transeuntibus et retranseuntibus persolvere; et excepto quod omnes Venetici qui adduxerint aurum et argentum, et bisancios seu monetas, nisi fecerint vel operati fuerint in terra mea, hii teneantur persolvere dricturam, sicut persolverint hii qui bisancios seu monetas operantur in Acconensibus partibus: quod si bisancios seu monetas non operati fuerint, nullatenus persolvere dricturam teneantur. Corpora, res et mercimonia Venetorum sint salva et secura ab omnibus hominibus qui sunt et qui erunt sub potestate et dominio meo. Concedo etiam et volo, ut si quilibet vasellum Venetorum passum fuerit naufragium vel rupturam in toto littore regni mei, omnes hii qui evaserint de periculo illo sint salvi et securi. Corpora, res et

mercimonia eorum sint salva et secura et libera ab omnibus hominibus qui sunt et qui erunt sub potestate et dominio meo. Excepto quod si quis intersit qui non sit Veneticus, ipsius res omnes potestati curie mee subiaceant. Et si navis seu vasselum aliarum gentium periclitata fuerit vel fracta in toto littore regni mei, et interfuerit Veneticus aliquis, res et omnia bona ipsius sint salva et secura et libera ab omnibus hominibus qui sunt et qui erunt sub potestate et dominio meo. Concedo insuper et volo, ut si aliquis Veneticus mercator voluerit peragrare per terram meam in aliam terram seu Christianorum seu Sarracenorum ubi pacem et treugas habeam, sine contradictione aliqua cum quibuslibet mercimoniis vadat quando voluerit et redeat; et si aliquod dampnum in ipso itinere, Venetico viatori evenerit, ad restituenda ablata, tanquam mea propria, operam dare et studium concedo. Concedo similiter et volo, ut [si] aliquis Veneticus aliqua predestinatione in terra mea morte preocupatus fuerit, et bonorum suorum ordinationem fecerit, ipsamque in manibus Venetici seu cuiuslibet comiserit, et fuerit mortuus, ordinatio ipsa stabilis sit et firma; et si sine ordinatione facta subito mortuus fuerit, et aliquis Veneticus interfuerit, res et bona mortui in manibus ipsius adstantis Venetici, quicumque sit, sine contradictione aliqua deveniant; et si aliquis Veneticus non interfuerit, et cum ordinatione seu sine ordinatione facta subito mortuus fuerit, omnia bona ipsius in manibus domini Iohannis venerabilis Sisensis Archiepiscopi, illustris Regis Armenie Cancellarii, seu successorum suorum archiepiscoporum, sine aliqua contradictione deveniant; que tamdiu sub custodia habeat, quousque ex mandato illustris Ducis Venecie, Dalmacie et Croacie, recipiat per litteras tamen sigillo suo sigillatas, cui illa tradere et assignare debeat, seu quid super his facturum sit; et secundum tenorem ipsarum litterarum, predicti ducis mandatum de rebus mortui sine aliqua contradictione adimpleatur. Concedo preterea et volo, ut si aliqua contentio vel discordia in terra mea inter Venetos emerserit, ut per Venetos, si interfuerint, emendetur:

qui si absentes fuerint, in presentia predicti venerabilis archiepiscopi, sive successorum suorum archiepiscoporum, previa ratione, emendetur. Et si aliqua contentio vel discordia mortalis inter Venetos et quascumque gentes emerserit, et mors hominis subito irruerit, in regali curia mea per iusticie sentenciam decidatur; et si aliqua alia contentio vel discordia inter Venetos et quascumque gentes emerserit, similiter in regali curia mea per iudicii sentenciam finiatur. Omne ius Veneticorum tanquam meum proprium observabo et manutenebo, et a creditoribus suis hominibus meis eis iusticiam plenam exiberi faciam. Concedo denique et dono, pro salute anime mee predecessorumque meorum, Veneticis in civitate Mamistei ecclesiam, et victualia pro sacerdote et clerico ecclesie servientibus, et fundicum ad ponenda res et mercimonia sua, et locum ad hedificandam domum. Ut autem presens privilegium firmum permaneat et inconvulsum, propria manu rubris litteris armenicis illud signavi, et regali sigillo auri illud muniri et corroborari feci, et subscriptorum testium aprobatione confirmari. Concedo et volo, ut omnis Veneticus habeat potestatem standi salvo, secure, cum omnibus bonis suis, quamdiu voluerit in omni terra mea, et per totam terram meam. Factum est hoc privilegium et datum per manus domini Iohannis venerabilis Archiepiscopi Sisensis, illustris Armenie Cancellarii. Anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo primo, mense Decembris.—(*From Arch. Stor. Ital.* IX. pp. 361-4.)

No. V.

TREATY *between* BALDWIN, *Count of Flanders*, THIBAULT, *Count of Champagne, and* LOUIS, *Count of Blois, on the one hand; and* ARRIGO DANDOLO, *Doge of Venice, on the other; for the Passage of the Crusaders to the Holy Land.*

Frequently hath it happened to our knowledge, that the territory of Jerusalem hath been taken by the Pagans, and

that it hath been rescued out of their hands, as it pleased the Lord, and redounded to His honour and glory. But, in these our times, matters have come to such a pass that the enemies of the Cross have been enabled to give their wicked designs full accomplishment. Jerusalem, in which the Holy Body reposed, hath been taken; other cities and strongholds have met a like fate; and few places remain, indeed, which have not fallen into their power. And this evil do we attribute rather to the iniquities of the people than to the unjust wrath of the JUDGE; since, when the people were converted to the Lord, we find that one man was able to persecute a thousand, and two to bring back ten thousand to the faith. Had it been His will, the Lord would have avenged His wrong with His inimitable justice. But, perchance, He wished to make trial, and to see if any one among the Christians, seeking Him, would embrace the opportunity offered for contrition and repentance, and cheerfully take up sword and shield in His service. And although many princes,—the Roman Emperor, the Kings of France and England, Dukes, Marquises, Counts, and Barons, in great numbers; and others girded with the sword of might,—did hasten, in truth, to the rescue of the Holy Land; yet, since these were not unanimous in their exertions, they accomplished little.

Now hath it pleased the Lord, in these times, to inspire the most illustrious princes, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, Thibault, Count of Champagne, and Louis, Count of Blois and Clermont, and other men of high blood, with the desire of taking the Cross, and of enlisting themselves in the service of God against the Heathen. Wherefore, after due and proper deliberation, and considering that there could be no moment more opportune than the present for such an undertaking, and that you could not better do than contract an alliance with us, in order that we might, under God, perform this service together. And whereas you have accredited to us the noble gentlemen, Conon de Bethune, Geoffrey the Marshal, Jean de Fraise, Alard de Maqueraux, Miles de Brabant,

and Gautier de Gondonville, earnestly soliciting us, for the sake of the divine mercy, to give you our counsel and aid in this affair, placing every trust in our discretion, and expressing your willingness to abide by our decision in all things which might have to be done; and which being made known to us by the ambassadors, and by the letters presented by them to us on your behalf, the which we received with all due speed. Therefore we, Arrigo Dandolo, by the grace of God Doge of Venice, Dalmatia, and Croatia, rejoicing inwardly in our heart when we recall the memory of our predecessors who lent their assistance, in due course, to the kingdom of Jerusalem, whence they, by the will of God, acquired honour and glory; and considering the exhortations of the High Pontiff, who hath frequently admonished us to take this step; and because we do not doubt that you are sincere in your intentions and labour at this in all purity of heart—have, in honour of the Lord, granted your desires with all cordiality and goodwill.

As the persons above enumerated have besought us, we will give you, then, ships for the passage of 4,500 well-armed soldiers, and as many horses; 9,000 esquires (you always paying us, any change or deficiency in the number, notwithstanding); and 20,000 foot soldiers; with provisions for one year, which we have promised to furnish. And the allowances to each man shall be as follows: six *setiers* (seventy-two bushels) of corn, wheat, and vegetables, and half an *amphora* (four gallons) of wine. For each horse the allowance shall be three bushels of corn, Venetian measure, and water at will. To transport the horses, we bind ourselves to provide as many *uscieri* as shall appear necessary; and for the passage of the men, ships according to our discretion, and as the Barons shall keep faith with us. And this fleet shall remain at your disposal from the Feast-day of the blessed Apostles Paul and Peter, instant, for the honour of God, of the blessed Evangelist Mark, and of Christendom, for the term of one twelvemonth, if it should meet with your approbation, and unless it should

continue longer by our common consent. Farthermore, we, of our own free will, do hereby offer fifty galleys, duly armed and equipped, to the service of the Lord; and these galleys shall remain afloat for a like term, if such an arrangement be approved, and unless, as before, by our common consent, they continue longer. In consideration of which, we shall receive from you 85,000 marks of pure silver (weight of Cologne), such as is current in our country; of which you shall, between this (April) and the 1st of August, pay 15,000 marks; between the 1st of August and the 1st November, 10,000; and between the 1st of November and the 2nd of February another 10,000 marks. The remainder we shall expect to receive in the course of April, during which month all things, which may be necessary, shall be provided, to go and remain in the service of God, for the term of one year, if such an arrangement be ratified, or unless we afterwards agree to the extension of such term. It is also to be borne in mind, that you must abstain from procuring provisions (of any kind) from Cremona, Bologna, Emola, or Faenza, except it be with our knowledge and consent, and that, on the contrary, you will enter into firm alliance with us, so that we may act justly toward each other. And if, by the favour of God, we shall, conjointly or separately, acquire, by force or treaty, any new possessions, they shall be divided between us in two equal portions. All which things above recited, your ambassadors aforementioned have sworn, on the Holy Gospel, on your behalf, to observe and fulfil; and, if it shall be possible, you shall cause the King of France to swear in like manner. And we, on our part, have sworn, and do swear, to observe and fulfil these things (always on condition, that those engagements to which you, on your part, have pledged yourselves, shall be so observed and fulfilled). And we ourselves, if it doth happen that we go with that army, do swear to adhere to those conditions which (your masters) the Barons have subscribed; but, should we not accompany the aforesaid army, then shall those who do so accompany it be caused to swear in such

wise. And it is decided by one common consent, that six persons shall be chosen on either side, in order that, if any dispute (which God forefend!) shall arise between your people and our people, it may be settled and adjusted by them). And you shall cause the treaty, when it shall have been approved and sanctioned by the Lord Pontiff, to be made known and published, to the end that, if either party depart from the letter of this treaty, it may be on their proper responsibility. And that the present instrument may receive greater credit and weight, we have caused it to be sealed with our leaden seal.

Done at Venice, in Rialto, at the Ducal Palace. Given in the hand of Andrea Corrado, our Chancellor, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1201, in the month of April, and in the tenth year of the reign of Arrigo Dandolo. (*A. Danduli Chron.*; *Murat.* XII.)

No. VI.

CORONATION OATH *of the Doge* GIACOMO TIEPOLO. A.D. 1229.

Incipit prologus promissionis illustris domini Jacobi Teupoli, Dei gratia Ducis Venetie, Dalmatie atque Croatiæ, et dominus dimidiæ et quartæ partis totius imperii Romaniæ, quam fecit populo Venetiarum pro Ducatu.

In nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo vigesimo nono, mensis Martii die sexto intrante, Indictione secunda: Rivoalti.

Cum non de nostra fortitudine et prudentia, sed de sola processit clementia Creatoris, in cujus arbitr[i]o et voluntate universa sunt posita, quod ad ducalis culmen pervenerimus dignitatis, vos hactenus in ecclesia beati Marci Evangelistæ, domini gloriosi, qui patronus noster et signifer est in omnibus, aggregati, quantam erga nos habueritis dulcedinem charitatis, manifestius ibi ac perfectius demonstrâstis, cum ad prola-

tionem eligentium nos vice vestra et nomine, in cœlum manibus elevatis, Deum unanimiter glorificastis in voce laudis magnifica et exultationis, quoniam per intercessionem gloriosissimi Evangelistæ sui Marci nos in ducem vobis dederat et rectorem, unde super his gratias quas possumus omnimodas persolventes Altissimo, cuius magnitudinis non est finis, et Evangelistæ suo gubernatori nostro, et vobis quoque super letitia magna, quam de promotione nostra geritis et habetis grates referentes uberes, notum vobis fieri cupimus per presentis scripti continentiam, quia studiosos nos tanto exhibere volumus amplius et attentos ex cordis intimo, prout de jure debemus, super rationibus et justitia faciendis, et super vestris quoque negotiis omnibus diligentius promovendis, quoad utilitatem vobis pariter et proficuum cum honore patriæ valeant melius pervenire. Et quanto per nos, auctore Deo, super his major nobis attributa est facultas et collata tam gloriosa dignitas, ac nimis præcelsa, volentes igitur quod in voluntate super his gerimus in opere apertius declarare, Nos Jacobus Teupolo, Dei gratia Venetiarum, Dalmatiæ atque Croatiæ dux, dominus quoque quartæ partis et dimidiæ totius imperii Romaniæ, promittentes promittimus vobis, uniuerso populo Venetiarum, majoribus et minoribus, et vestris heredibus, quod a modo in antea cunctis diebus, quibus Dominus in corpore nobis vitam habere concesserit, in Ducatus nostri regimine Venetiarum regimen faciemus et statum observabimus bona fide, sicut nostri observaverunt predecessores.

Dispensation of justice.

Studiosi erimus ad rationem et justitiam omnibus, qui eam quæsierint et quæri fecerint, exhibendam sine dilatione aliqua, bona fide, sine fraude; et ad leges et justitias complendas secundum usum factum et confirmatum olim, et de cætero confirmandum, quæ judicio judicum fuerint promulgatæ. Studiosi erimus bona fide similiter, sine fraude, et nullum amicum vel inimicum juvabimus vel nocebimus in fraudem.

Pleas.

De placitis autem illis, quæ ante nos venerint, nullum per fraudem aliquam dilatabimus; et si judices in proferenda lege discordes aliquando apparuerint, unde nos legem dicere de-

beamus, in meliorem partem, quæ nobis videbitur secundum usum, nos ponemus, et ubi usus nobis defecerit, dicemus secundum nostram conscientiam, sine fraude.

Nullum servitium tollemus, nec tolli faciemus; et si per nos aliquis servitium tulerit, ex quo nobis notum fuerit, faciemus ipsum reddi bona fide, sine fraude.

Honorem autem et proficuum Venetiæ consiliabimus, tractabimus, et operabimus bona fide, sine fraude. Et illam partem in consilio capiemus, quæ nobis magis rationabilis apparebit. Omnia quoque consilia secreta, quæ Nos cum majori parte consiliariorum nostrorum teneri jusserimus, secrete tenebimus secundum ordinem, quem nos precipiemus. Et si in nostro tempore alicui personæ, vel personis, de habere, vel possessionibus, aut redditibus Communis Venetiarum, aliquid datum, vel collaudatum fuerit, dationem illam, vel collaudationem illam, firmam non habebimus, nisi prius pro majori parte Concilii majoris et minoris consiliata fuerit et confirmata.

De rebus, quæ per majorem partem Concilii erunt vetitæ, sigillum nulli personæ dabimus, nisi per majorem partem consiliariorum nobis laudatum fuerit.

De universis cartulis falsis, quæ nobis ostensæ fuerint, studiosi erimus ad faciendam inde justitiam et fieri faciendam, secundum usum patriæ nostræ factum vel confirmatum olim, vel de cætero confirmandum.

Si patriarchalis nostra sancta Gradensis mater Ecclesia inordinata remanserit, electio nostri patriarchæ in universo cœtu cleri nostri et populi permaneat, nisi aliter per majorem partem nostri Concilii fuerit collaudatum, unde nullum servitium exquirere debeamus, nec recipi faciamus; et si aliquid præ nobis receptum esse sciverimus, illud citius quam poterimus reddi faciemus.

Electio universorum nostrorum episcoporum vacantium, in suorum filiorum, cleri et populi, potestate consistat, et electio monasteriorum sibi suffragantium in ipsorum congregationibus, cum suis episcopis, absque ullius servitii exactione, simili modo permaneat, unde nos intromittere non debemus nisi cum

voluntate majoris partis nostri consilii. Jam dictus autem patriarchatus cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in patriarchæ potestate, episcopatus vero in potestate episcoporum, cum suis omnibus intus et extra debeant permanere.

De quadragesimo octuagesimo, et aliis rationibus, quas vicedomini communis nostri tollere consueverunt, et de illo, quod provenit de Marchia Warnerii, exceptis pomis, qui de Lombardia veniunt unde habere debemus duas partes et vicedomini, tertiam, neque de quinto quod per mare intrat, neque de Castello novo intromittere nos debemus, nec de sigillo majori salis, neque de datione minoris, quæ apud Caput Aggeris tollebatur, nec de piscaria, nec de beccaria, salva tamen honorificentia nostræ curiæ, quæ in die Jovis de carnis privio omni anno habere debemus. De aliis vero quadragesimis, tam de Tarvisio, quam de aliis partibus, et de caratico Veronæ, et de arboratico Anconitanorum, quod nostri predecessores tollebant, et de bannis omnibus, qui a nostris predecessoribus tollebantur, intromittere nos non debemus, exceptis datione gambarorum quam totam sumus habituri, et exceptis datione ceresiarum, quæ portabuntur de Tarvisana, quarum duas partes habere debemus, donec colligentur, et habebuntur per Venetias, et ille qui collegit, tertiam.

De facto Clugiæ intromittere nos non debemus sine majori parte Concilii nostri, exceptis gundula, fæno et vino et omni honorificentia receptionis nostræ et nunciorum nostrorum, et excepto eo, quod nobis debet fieri, quando volumus ire venatum aut mittere, exceptis etiam appellationibus et interdictis, quæ ad nos factæ fuerint, secundum consuetudinem olim habitam, et exceptis pœnis, quas licet nobis Clugiensibus imponere, si ea nobis non facerent quæ continentur, superius exceptata, secundum consuetudinem olim habitam. In potestate autem Communis nostri remaneat dare potestatem Clugiensibus, vel Gastaldionem facere, et habere ripaticum et bannam occisionis et percussionis, et alia, quæ duces habebant, exceptis his, quæ sunt superius denotata.

Quapropter Commune Venetiarum omnes expensas facere

debet, quas prædecessores nostri et nostrum Commune facere solebant pro facto Communis, tam in legationibus ubique mittendis, quam in omnibus aliis, et in omnibus exercitibus, excepto quod quotiescumque iverimus pro facto nostri Communis per nostrum Ducatum a Grado u. z. usque Lauretum et Caput Aggeris, nostris propriis expensis ire debemus.

Verumtamen Nos tam de averatico (*avetatico?*), sive de imprestito, pro Communi Venetiarum faciendo, tenemur facere de nostro haberè, sicut ordinabitur per majorem partem concilii, quod fieri debeat. Obligation to Public Loans.

Preterea debemus facere ea omnia, quæ omnes predecessores nostri ecclesiis Venetiarum facere consueverunt, salvo tamen quod, si inde aliam habuerimus conscientiam quam nostri consiliarii, quod acquiescere debeamus in voluntate majoris partis nostri concilii, excepto de facto ecclesiæ beati Marci, in quâ observare debemus, prout juravimus.

Legationes autem et epistolas ad summum Pontificem et Imperatorem ac reges, et aliquam personam pro communi nostro sine majori parte concilii nostri mittere non debemus, exceptis litteris rationis, quas nobis licet facere fieri Venetis; et si litteræ nobis mandabuntur a summo Pontifice, vel Imperatore, vel aliquo rege, eas tenemur demonstrare majori parti nostri concilii. Embassies and Foreign Despatches.

Judices quoque in nostro palatio absque electione facere non debemus; et redditus, quos judices de proprio nostri palatii soliti sunt habere, dari consentiemus illis, nec eis inde contradicere debemus. Verum tenemur omni anno dare cuilibet eorum amphoras quatuor vini de vineis nostri ducatus, quæ sunt de Clugia de Camanzo specialiter; et si (quod absit!) vineæ ipsæ tempestate forent (destructæ?) sic quod non possent dari, faciemus dare eis, ut dictum est, de alio opportuno vino Clugiæ; et similiter eis tenemur facere dare annuatim omnes alias honorificentias, quas more solito habuerunt Judices Proprii. Election of Judges.

Notarios vero sine majori parte Concilii et collaudatione populi facere non debemus, neque ab eis aliquid tolli faciemus: Notaries.

imo remaneat in potestate nostri Communis id quod soliti sunt dare predecessoribus nostris,

Sequestration. Nullius autem mansionem sine judicio judicum, vel consensu majoris partis Concilii publicabimus; quod si fecerimus, nos illis, quibus hoc evenerit, damna omnia debeamus in duplum restaurare.

Schools. De universis scholis laboratoriis terræ nostræ nihil amplius servitii inquirere debeamus, excepto cum voluntate majoris partis Concilii, nisi quantum prædecessoribus nostris et in nostro palatio usæ sunt.

Masters of the trades. Gastaldiones, qui per diversas Artes erunt ordinati, etiam in scholis suis permanentes, ita ordinare debemus, sicut prædecessores nostri facere consueverunt.

Ducal Bodyguards. De excusatis nostri ducatus nullum servitium amplius inquirere debeamus, nisi quantum nostris prædecessoribus per bonam consuetudinem in nostro palatio fecerunt; et quandocumque pergere voluerint ad negociandum negocia sua, absque omni contradictione pergere debeant, nisi per Nos remanserit, et per majorem partem Concilii nostri, aut per publicum interdictum. Unde nullum quadragesimum, vel servitium, eis inquirere debeamus. Ad partes universas, ad quas negociandi causa ire voluerint, secundum quod eorum parentes facere usi fuerint, ita et ipsi agere debeant, nisi remanserit per Nos, et majorem partem concilii nostri.

Money. Nostram monetam, sicut fuerit inventum de majori parte concilii nostri, semper recuperare debeamus, nisi postmodum per majorem partem concilii nostri remanserit. Cunctis diebus vitæ nostræ, electionem alterius Ducis non faciemus.

Reception of presents. Nulla dona, nec præsens aliquod, aliquo modo vel ingenio ab aliquâ personâ recipiemus, vel recipi faciemus, exceptis aqua rosata, foliis, floribus, et herbis odoriferis, et balsamo, quod nobis et nostris (nuntiis?) recipiere licet; quod si nobis fuerit factum, vel alicui personæ causa nostri, aliquod donum, vel præsens, præter illud, quod est exceptuatum, illud infra tertium diem, postquam sciverimus, dari vel reddi faciemus in manu camerarii nostri Communis Venetiarum. Verumtamen,

si aliquod donum vel præsens nobis pro Communi datum fuerit, vel alicui pro nobis, recipiemus et recipi faciemus, et dabimus, vel dari faciemus, infra tertium diem, postquam sciverimus, Camerario nostri Communis, eo salvo, quod nobis et nostris nuntiis licet recipere quicquid nobis vel nuntiis nostris dabitur in victualibus coctis et fialibus vini, et omnibus bestiis sylvestri[bu]s, recipiendo bestiam unam in quolibet die semel a quocumque portabitur, et in volatilibus sylvestri[bu]s usque ad decem paria, quolibet die similiter a quocumque portabitur, dummodo quod aliquid ex dictis donis, vel præsentibus, quicquam recipere non debeamus, nec facere recipi ab aliquâ personâ, vel ejus nuntio, quam credamus, vel sciamus, a Nobis, vel nostro Communi in Curia, velle aliquod servitium impetrare, salvis odoriferis prædictis floribus et foliis et herbis, aqua rosata et balsamo, quibus non tenemur quin recipere valemus sine conditione; et omnia recipere possumus, quæ nobis pro nostro Ducatu accipere spectant, secundum morem consuetum, a Patriarcha Aquileiensi et ejus Patriarchatu, et monasteriis nostris.

Cases in which gifts are to be accepted.

Tenemur autem facere jurare scientibus nostris conciliariis, cum voluerint, nostram Ducissam, et quemlibet nostrum filium ætatem habentem, vel statim cum ad ætatem pervenerit, de nullo servitio, vel dono, aut præsente recipiendo, ultra quam dictum est de nobis.

Swearing in of the Dogaressa.

Si vero nuptias fecerimus in nostro palatio, pro Nobis vel filiis nostris, vel filiabus, vel neptibus, sive nepotibus, aut quando nostram Ducissam in palatium duxerimus, licet nobis recipere, quicquid nobis vel nostris nuntiis fuerit datum, vel presentatum, in victualibus, qualiscunque maneriei fuerint.

Marriages in the Ducal Family.

Omnes autem homines Venetiæ, majores et minores æqualiter tractabimus in ratione et justitiâ, et in offensionibus, tam in exitu eorum de Venetiis, quam in eorum introitu, et in omnibus factis aliis, in bona fide, sine fraude, exceptis illis, qui calumniati sunt, vel erunt, de factis quæ pertinent vel pertinebunt ad Commune Venetiæ ab illis u. z. hominibus, qui modo sunt, vel erunt in antea pro Commune Venetiarum, aut

per majorem partem ipsorum. De ipsis hominibus operam et forciam dabimus bona fide, sine fraude, quod ad finem deveniant.

Plegium vel pacatorem ad Commune Venetiarum Nos pro aliqua persona alicujus facti occasione, quod habeat cum Commune Venetiarum, non constituemus.

Shipwrecks.

Studiosi erimus de navibus, quæ sustinebunt naufragium a Gradu usque Lauretum, ad faciendam rationem et justitiam, quod homines ipsarum navium recuperare valeant bona sua.

Similiter studiosi erimus ad excutiendum bona et habere nostri Communis et habere hominum Venetiarum, quod rescodi debet foris Venetiæ; studemus cum bono Venetiæ ad rescodendum ipsum.

Various obligations to the Constitution.

Illud vero, quod nobis consultum fuerit per majorem partem nostri concilii, studiosi erimus ducere ad complementum, nisi remanserit per majorem partem concilii nostri.

Partes illas omnes, quæ captæ fuerint in majori consilio, studiosi erimus ducere ad effectum, nisi per consilium revocata remanserint, excepto de facto ecclesiæ sancti Marci.

Nos habere debemus annuatim post nostrum introitum in Ducatum, a nostris Camerariis nostri Communis, summam librarum duarum millia octi[n]gentarum denariorum Venetorum quousque in Ducatu steterimus, scilicet per tres quoslibet menses librarum denariorum Venetorum septingentas, et habere debemus 350 romanatos de redditu comitatus Vegliæ, et pro regalia ejusdem comitatus alios romanatos 60 eo tempore annuatim, quo continetur in promissionibus illis, quas Joannes Vido et Henricus, comites Vegliæ, fecerunt prædecessori nostro bonæ memoriæ, Henrico Dandulo, et Communi Venetiarum. De pannis vero ad aurum, qui solent dari nostro prædecessori et Beato Marco a dominatoribus Negropontis, debemus habere in nobis medietatem per partitionem, et S. Marcus aliam medietatem s. z. dum poterunt haberi; et habere debemus regalia tam Chersi et Auseri, quam comitatus Arbæ et Ragusii et Sansegi, et honorificentias omnes Histriæ, ut habuerunt prædecessores nostri.

De facto vero, quod pertinuerit ad Ducatum ea servabimus, unde omnes consiliarii minoris Concilii erunt concordes cum majore parte Consilii majoris, ex quo Nobis data fuerint per sacramenti distinctionem; dum tamen antequam sententietur, si erit aliquis in minori Consilio, qui non sit nobis fidelitatis astrictus et requisitus a Nobis, tunc cum habebitur de ipso facto tractatus, Nobis fidelitatem juraverit.

Hæc omnia, quæ suprascripta sunt, bona fide, sine fraude, promittimus Nos, usque dum in Ducatu vixerimus, servaturos, exceptis expensis, quas in regimine Venetiarum facere non debemus, nisi sicut superius continetur, et excepto, si erit aliquis, qui Nobis fidelitate non teneatur; cui, si requisitus eam non fecerit, rationem facere non teneamur.

Non prætermittendum est, quod novem marcas argenti dare debemus, ut ex ipsis fabricentur tres tubæ, quæ ad honorem ecclesiæ beati Marci post nostrum decessum apud procuratorem operis ipsius ecclesiæ remaneant commendatæ.

In nostra potestate remanet dandum, cui voluerimus, cameras nostri palatii, quæ habent hostia de foris; et Nos debemus facere cooperiri totum palatium nostrum nostris expensis, ubi, et quando necesse fuerit, salvo quod, si tales personæ ibi starent, quæ nostro consilio non placerent, eis tenemus dare comiatum in voluntate concilii nostri, et locare in ipsis illos, quos voluerit major pars nostri concilii.

Et debemus dare infra annum unum post introitum nostri regiminis beato Marco, nostro apostolo et evangelistæ, unum pannum laboratum ad aurum, valoris a libris denariorum Veneciarum XXV. supra.

Item etiam tenemur dare operam, sicut modo tenentur consiliarii nostri, aut de cætero tenebuntur alii consiliarii nostri, qui in tempore nostri regiminis de cætero intrabunt, quod mille modia frumenti in Venetiam faciemus venire per mare cum bono Venetiæ bona fide, sine fraude, et alia mille modia frumenti modo consimili, nisi remanserit per nos et majorem partem Concilii majoris et minoris et Quadraginta.

Domestic establishment.

Preterea tenere debemus nobiscum servitores viginti, com-

putati in ipsis ministrantibus ad coquinam, quorum viginti, si quis defecerit vel recesserit a nostro servitio, bona fide, sine fraude, alium suo loco infra unum mensem recuperare debemus.

Doge's seal. Bullam nostri Ducatus non consentiemus servandum et exercendam, nisi uni ex nostris servitoribus, quem ex legalioribus nostris crederemus esse.

The post. De sigillatura litterarum a Venetico non faciemus tolli, nisi denarios XII. parvulos, et a forinseco soldos tres, salvo quod, si bullata fuerit littera aliqua alicujus magni negotii, quod nostri consiliarii possint licentiare bullatorem amplius tollendi, ut nobis et eis videbitur. Illum autem, quem carceris custodem ponemus, et cui claves carceris dabimus, constituemus honum et legalem, secundum conscientiam nostram.

Hearing of petitions. De petitionibus audiendis omne die Veneris, secundum quod statutum est, sic tenebimur a modo, quemadmodum tenentur consiliarii, qui nunc sunt et erunt per tempora.

Hæc omnia, quæ supra sunt, juravimus ad Dei Evangelia servaturos nos bona fide, sine fraude, nisi remanserit per majorem partem Consilii minorjs et majoris et Capitum Contratarum, et per majorem partem de Quadraginta, qui sunt, vel erunt per tempora, et per collaudationem populi Venetiarum.

Si igitur ullo tempore contra hanc promissionis cartam ire temptaverimus, non observantes ea, quæ continentur in ipsa, et erit clare factum, componere promittimus cum nostris heredibus vobis et vestris heredibus auri obrizi libras centum, ut hæc promissionis carta in sua permaneat firmitate.

✠ Ego Jacobus Teupulo, Dei gratia, Dux Venetiarum, manu mea scripsi, ✠ Ego Petrus Barbo Testis. ✠ Ego Benedictus Faletro Testis. ✠ Ego Nicolaus Girardi presbiter, plebanus ecclesiæ sancti Moisi notarius, ducalis aulæ cancellarius, complevi et roboravi.

No. VII.

LETTER *of the Emperor* RODOLPH *of Hapsburg to the Doge* JACOPO CONTARINI (1277).

Rodulphus, Dei gratia Romanorum rex, semper Augustus, Magnifico viro (Jacobo Contareno) Duci Venetorum, amico suo sinceræ dilectionis salutem, cum regiæ benignitati[s] affectu. Quantis opprobriis et probrosis injuriis indesinentibus reipublicæ disturbator, quidam Atto, rex Boemorum, illam post pacis fœdera, post fidelitatis debitæ nobis per ipsum prestita sacramenta, nos impulerit, ut ad [ejus] conatus nefarios refrenandas potentiæ nostræ brachium levaremus, omnes minores cum majoribus sæpe viderunt apertus, qui conspirationes, quas idem rex adversus nostram salutem fecerat, insidiarum jacula, qui tetenderat, laqueos quos absconderat, non ignorant, et quoniam de regalium successorum precordiorum nostrorum injuria credimus in gaudio redundare sinceritati vestræ, ea quæ omnipotentis Dei gratiâ, quæ [qui] causas justas dirigit, et detestat iniquas, in nobis et imperio resplenduit his diebus tenore præsentium duximus declaranda. Sciat itaque Vestra Providentia, quod nos feria quanta proxima post festum Bartholomæi eo loco locavimus castra nostra, quod a territoriis dicti regis Boemorum vix ad spatium dimidii miliaris Teutonici distabaru. Mane vero sextæ feriæ subsequentis, unâ cum dilecto filio et amico nostro carissimo illo rege Hungariæ procedentes cunctos acciarum [acierum?] nostrarum adjunximus stationibus hostium, sic quod [sicut] horâ diei quasi sextâ inter nos gravis pugna committitur, in quâ dictus rex Boemorum, more strenui pugilis civiliter [viriliter?] se defendens, tandem devictus accubit, non a nostrâ virtute prostratus, sed eo potiore impugnante contra rempublicam defendente collisus; in quo etiam bello nobiles regni Boemiæ, et alii, qui cum ipso rege venerant potiores, aut mortui gladio ceciderunt, aut victo

(victi) certamine, dum ad fugæ præsidium se converterent, ab insequentibus sunt detenti. Verum, cum ex veris et certis inditiis Celsitudini nostræ constet, quod non nostra, sed summi Dei salutem nostram in tanto discrimine misericorditer protegentis, potentia triumphavit; præsentem preclaram victoriam Illius titulis et honori adscimus. Qui ad nostræ humilitatis angustias finiendas immensæ Suæ clementiæ misericordes oculos tantum misericorditer inclinavit, dum extremæ necessitatis periculum imminebat. Vos, igitur, amicorum sincerissimorum quæsumus grates Altisimo referatis, et in gloriosæ Magnificentiæ Vestræ laudes, quorum presidiis vita nostra, morti proxima, salva subsistit, et Romani imperii celsitudo mirabiliter incurvata respiravit virtute mirabili vestri cordis intima resolvatis.

Datum in Castris apud Velsperg (Wurtzburg) sexto Kalendas Septemb[r]is regni nostri anno quinto (1277). —(*From Romanin*).

No. VIII.

Treaty *with* Ancona. *March*, 1281.

In Dei nomine, amen. Anno nativitatis Ejus millesimo ducentesimo octogesimo primo, indictione nona, die tertia mensis Martii, tempore, quo fama erat de domino Symone Turonensi, electo in summum Pontificem. Dominus Petrus de Cusentia, nuntius, procurator et syndicus domini Johannis Danduli, Dei gratia Venetiæ, Dalmatiæ atque Croatiæ ducis, domini quartæ partis et dimidiæ totius imperii Romaniæ, majoris, minoris et generalis conciliorum et communis Venetiæ, ad infrascripta constitutus, sicut patet, publico instrumento syndicatus eidem scripto manu Rustichini Benintendi, notarii, syndicario et procuratorio nomine, prædicti domini ducis, conciliorum et communis Venetiæ ex una parte, et dominus Angelus domini Giraldi judicis, nuntius, procurator et syndicus nobilis viri domini Turalati de Petramala, generalis concilii et communis Anconæ, ex altera parte. Præsentibus

religiosis viris, Fratre Daniele de Agusta, priori conventus fratrum Prædicatorum de Venetiis, et Fratre Rogerio de Monte Rubiano, priori conventus fratrum Prædicatorum de Paduâ; mediatoribus pacis inter prædicta communia Venetiæ et Anconæ, de guerris et discordiis inter eos habitis, convenerunt ad infrascripta promittenda et facienda. Videlicet, quod dictus dominus Petrus de Cusentia, procuratorio et syndicario nomine suprascripti domini ducis, concilii et communis Veneciarum per ipsum dominum ducem et Commune Venetiarum, et concives et fideles eorum, fecit et promisit communi, civibus et sequacibus civitatis Anconæ, et subscripto domino Angelo, syndico et procuratori, recipienti et stipulanti vice ac nomine ipsorum communis, civium et sequacium dictæ civitatis Anconæ, puram, firmam et perpetuam pacem. Et promisit eisdem, quod deinceps nec molestiam, nec injuriam, nec læsionem aliquam, seu damnum facient communi civitatis Anconæ, nec civibus, nec sequacibus suis. Et remisit omnem injuriam et offensum et damnum, datum per commune et singulares personas de Ancona communi et singularibus personis de Venetiis, et fidelibus suis, a die inceptæ guerræ usque ad diem factæ pacis. Excepto, quod restituantur domino Duci et Communi Venetiarum, vel eorum syndico, omnia apparentia (appertinentia), quæ inventa fuerint in potestate communis Anconæ, vel alicujus civis Anconæ, seu sequacis eorum; et restituantur eisdem domino Duci et Communi Venetiarum, vel eorum syndico, omnia apparentia (appertinentia), quæ inventa fuerint in potestate communis Anconæ, sive fuerint Communis Venetiarum, sive alicujus singularis personæ de Venetiis, vel fidelium suorum. Quæ apparentia (appertinentia) declarari debent a prædicto syndico civitatis Anconæ sub fide prestiti sacramenti de pace et firmitate pacis inter Venetos et Anconitanos. Et promisit, nomine domini Ducis et Communis Veneciarum, eos esse contentos, per se et cives et fideles suos, et se ipsum nomine domini Ducis, Conciliorum et Communis Venetiarum, de predicta declaratione facta per dictum syndicum de Ancona, et nihil amplius petere. Et promisit insuper nomine quo

supra, dicto syndico et procuratori domini potestatis et communis, Ancona recipienti et stipulanti per dominum potestatem et communem Anconæ, quod, hac pace facta, Dominus Dux et Commune Venetiarum relaxari facient, et reddi pristinæ libertati, omnes captivos ipsorum communis, civium et sequacium de Ancona, qui sunt vel fuerint in potestate domini Ducis, Communis, vel alicujus civis, de Venetiis, vel fidelis eorum. Insuper dictus syndicus et procurator Domini Ducis et Communis Veneciarum juravit ad sanctà Dei Evangelia, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis, in anima ipsius Domini Ducis, et in animabus hominum, Conciliorum et Communis Venetiarum, quod prædicta omnia firmitate observabunt. Et, versa vice, suprascriptus dominus Angelus, syndicus et procurator Domini Potestatis, Concilii et Communis Anconæ, syndicario et procuratorio nomine prædictorum domini Potestatis, generalis Concilii et Communis Anconæ, per ipsum Dominum Potestatem, Concilium [et] Commune de Anconâ, et cives et concives et sequaces eorum, fecit et promisit Domino Duci [et] Communi Venetiarum, concivibus et fidelibus eorum, et supra scripto domino Petro de Cusentia, syndico et procuratori, recipienti et stipulanti vice ac nomine prædictorum Domini Ducis et Communis Venetiarum, et concivium et fidelium eorum, puram, firmam, et perpetuam pacem. Et promisit eisdem quod deinceps nec molestiam, nec injuriam, nec læsionem aliquam seu damnum facient domino Duci [et] Communi Venetiarum, nec civibus [et] fidelibus suis. Et remisit omnem injuriam et offensionem, et damnum, datum per Commune et singulares personas de Venetiâ [et] cives et fideles eorum, Communi et singularibus personis de Anconâ et eorum sequacibus, a die inceptæ guerræ usque ad diem factæ pacis. Et promisit insuper, nomine quo supra, dicto syndico Domini Ducis et Communis Venetiarum, recipienti et stipulanti pro ipso Domino Duce et Communi Venetiarum quod, hâc pace factâ, Dominus Potestas et Commune Anconæ restituent eis, seu eorum syndico, et reddent pristinæ libertati omnes captivos ipsorum Ducis et Communis Venetiarum, vel fidelium

eorum, qui sunt, vel fuerint, in potestate communis Anconæ, vel alicujus civis seu sequacis Anconæ. Et etiam restituent syndico et procuratori Domini Ducis et Communis Venetiarum appertinentiâ, quæ inventa fuerint in potestate Communis Anconæ, sive fuerint Communis Venetiarum, sive alicujus singularis personæ de Venetiis, vel fidelium suorum. Quæ appertinentia declarari debeant ab eodem syndico civitatis Anconæ sub fide prestiti sacramenti de pace et firmitate pacis servandâ inter Venetos et Anconitanos. Insuper dictus syndicus et procurator Domini Potestatis, Concilii, et Communis Anconæ juravit ad sancta Dei Evangelia, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis in animâ dicti Domini Potestatis, et in animâbus hominum Concilii et Communis Anconæ, quod prædicta omnia firmitate observabunt. Et declaravit dictus syndicus sub fide prestiti sacramenti hæc appertinentia. Et dictus syndicus domini ducis et Communis Venetiarum fuit contentus de predictâ declaratione, et promisit nomine quo supra (dicto) nihil amplius petere. Unde ad futuram memoriam, et robur perpetuò valiturum de promissis omnibus, rogatu prædictorum syndicorum facta sunt duo publica et similia instrumenta, quorum unum scripsi ego Petrus Symi [Symon] de Pulverisio, notavi, et publicavi. In quo se subscripsit Rustichinus Benintendi notarius. Et aliud scripsit et publicavit idem Rustichinus notarius, in quo ego præscriptus Petrus sic subscripsi, quorum unum uni parti, et alterum alteri, ad cautelam est traditum conservandum.

Actum Ravennæ apud locum Fratrum Prædicatorum. Præsentibus Venerabilibus viris dominis Michaele Archidiacono, Presbytero Henrico Cardinali Amatere et Johannino, Cantatoribus Ecclesiæ Ravennatis. Et nobilibus viris dominis Lisio Domini Stoldi Jacopi de Florentia Potestate Ravennæ; Guidone Minori de Pulenta; Thomasi de Ghezus (Tomaso Ghisi?), Ugolino de Corbis; Jacomatio Domini Jacopi de Corrado, &c. Anno, mense, die, et indictione premissis.—(*From Romanin.*)

No. IX.

RENT ROLL *of the* HOUSES *in* VENICE. A.D. 1367.

I. El sestier de s. Marco fo stimà duc. 799,180 v. z.

S. Marcho duc. 35,600.—S. Zuminian vescovo duc. 45,150. —S. Maria Zubenigo 42,570.—S. Maurizio màrtire 19,620. —S. Anzolo 73,160.—S. Samuel profeta duc. 48,900.—S. Vidal 36,000.—S. Fantin vesch. 29,800.—S. Moisé profeta duc. 820,420.—S. Beneto abade duc. 15,700.—S. Paterjian duc. 38,270.—S. Lucha evang. duc. 48,010.—S. Bortolomeo ap. duc. 90,210.—S. Salvador duc. 80,690.—S. Zulian mart. duc. 94,840.—S. Basso vesc. duc. 28,440.

II. El sestier de Castello fo stimà duc. 456,960 v. z.

S. Piero ap. duc. 29,730.—S. Biasio vesch. 8,250.—S. Zan in Bragola duc. 27,460.—S. Martin vesch. 27,860.—S. Ternita duc. 33,140. — S. M. Formosa e S. Justina duc. 120,140.—S. Marina verg. duc. 53,700.—S. Lio papa duc. 37,460.—S. Zuane novo evangelista duc. 44,260.—S. Proculo vesc. 18,000.—S. Severo ves. duc. 39,320.—S. Antonin. duc. 17,640.

III. El sestier de Canaregio fo stimà duc. 485,230 v. z.

S. Geremia prof. duc. 54,960.—S. Lunardo duc. 11,050. —S. Ermacora patr. duc. 59,830.—S. M. Madalena duc. 11,300.—S. Marcilian vesc. duc. 39,500.—S. Fosca verg. duc. 33,050.—S. Felice duc. 53,720.—S. Sofia duc. 41,660. —S. Apostoli duc. 64,950.—S. Cancian vesc. duc. 55,260. —S. Maria nova. duc. 29,800.—S. Zuan Grisostomo duc. 30,150.

IV. El sestier de s. Polo fo stimà duc. 490,270 v. z.

S. Polo apost. duc. 22,950.—S. Thomà ap. duc. 36,690. —S. Stephano dito s. Stin duc. 19,400.—S. Augustin vescov. duc. 18,850.—S. Agata dito s. Boldo duc. 16,450.—S. Apolinare vesc. duc. 65,660.—S. Silvestro papa duc. 12,820.—S. Jac. et Mat. et Zuane duc. 19,252.

V. El sestier de s. Croxe fo stimà duc. 281,280 v. z.

S. Crose duc. 14,510.—S. Simeon apostolo duc. 8,600.—S. Simeon prof. duc. 36,270.—S. Zuan degolado duc. 19,100.—S. Jacop. apost. duc. 47,120.—S. Stai duc. 48,730.—S. Maria Mater D'ni duc. 31,950.—S. Cassan duc. 68,110.—S. Lutia verg. in Canareg. duc. 6,890.

VI. El sestier de Dorsoduro fo stimà duc. 369,890 v. z.

S. Nicolò vesc. duc. 20,070.—S. Raphael arch. duc. 28,750.—S. Pantaleon medico duc. 62,170.—S. Margarita verg. e mart. duc. 55,480.—S. Basegio vesc. duc. 15,430.—S. Gervasio e Protasio duc. 45,400.—S. Barnaba ap. duc. 30,090.—S. Agnese verg. duc. 24,640.—S. Vido mart. 18,980.—S. Greguol papa 30,770.—S. Eufemia verg. alla Zudecha duc. 63,110.

Suma tuto duc. domilion otocento otantado milia e otocento e disdoto.*—(*From Romanin*, vol. III. *part* 3, *Doc.* v., p. 384).

* The discrepancy between the archives and the financial statement of the Doge Mocenigo in 1423, need hardly be pointed out. *See* Chapter XXII. I rather suspect a misprint in the oration ascribed to the Doge.

No. X.

Sumptuary Law *of* 1360.

Millesimo tricentesimo sessagesimo, indictione XIII. die 21 madij capta.

Quod de cetero nullus habitator Venecijs modo aliquo vel ingenio possit per se vel alium dare in corredis donis vel aliqua alia re pro donis occasione matrimonij aliquo modo vel ingenio ultra valorem librarum XL. grossorum in pena librarum $\frac{c}{v}$ parvorum et perdendi illud plus. Et quod quicunque dabunt in dote libras XXX^{ta} grossorum vel inde supra teneantur ire ante trasductionem vel octo diebus post advocarie communis. Et jurare quod in totum observabunt vel jam observaverunt ea que dicta sunt superius sub pena librarum C. parvorum pro quolilibet principali autore matrimonij. Et nichilominus officiales teneantur inquirere contra omnes qui fuerunt denuntiati suspecti eis contrafecisse istis nostris ordinibus. Et con-

Limitation of Marriage Presents.

trafacientes cadant ad penam suprascriptam. De parte-22-9. de non-11. non sinceri-8-6.-

Personal decoration. Item quod novicius nec alius pro eo modo aliquo vel ingenio possit sponse facere aliquam vestem fornitam nec aliud ornamentum tam a capite quam a latere nec in annulis tempore nuptiarum nec annis quattuor postquam fuerit trasducti ultra valorem librarum triginta grossorum inter omnia in penam librarum $\frac{c}{v}$ et perditionis totius pluris.

Girls. Item quod aliqua puella ab annis VIII. completis infra modo aliquo vel ingenio non possit portare aurum nec argentum perlas vel margaritas nec aliquod aliud jocale pannum ad aurum nec vellutum salvo maspiles tam argentei vel aurati qui vadant XV. pro uncia vel inde supra ad vestes et pro ornamento capilis in totum ad valorem X. ducatorum et non ultra. Et hoc in pena librarum C. parvorum et perditionis totius pluris.

Ladies. Quod aliqua dom'na alicuius condicionis habitatrix Venecijs non possit portare nec habere pro suo usu bochetam vel bochetas aliquas vel aliqua alia jocalia similia et loco bochetarum nec etiam cingulum vel centuram aliquam nec bursam supra qua sint perle vel margarite nec centuram aliquam argenti que excedat valorem ducatorum XX. nec cultelinos qui cum vagina et catenella excedat valorem ducatorum X. nec a manu axolas que excedant valorem ducatorum X. pro qualibet cavezadura a manu. Et similiter non possit portare vel habere duplonos de quibus valor unius raube excedat valorem ducatorum sex. Et hoc in pena perdendi illa varnimenta et fornimenta in quibus fuerit contrafactum.

Spinsters. Quod aliqua dom'na alicuius condicionis que non sit maritata non possit uti nec pro suo habere in omnibus pannis et ornamentis suis et tam de capite quam de latere ultra valorem librarum XXX. grossorum declarando quod in predictis non intelligatur drezatores qui ex toto sint sibi vetiti in pena perdendi totum illud in quo fuerit contrafactum et librarum C. ultra illud.

Married women. Quod aliqua dom'na alicuius condicionis habens maritum

non possit habere pro suo usu in omnibus suis pannis et ornamentis ultra valorem librarum LXX. grossorum sub dicta pena.

Item quod aliqua dom'na alicuius condicionis tam maritata quam non que non fert conceriam auri vel argenti perlarum vel margaritarum super pannos non intelligendo maspilea argenteos vel auratos nec duplonos, non possit habere pro suo usu in omnibus pannis et ornamentis suis ultra valorem librarum quadragiñta grossorum. Intelligendo quod modo aliquo non possit habere ultra IIII. capita de velluto vel panno sirico sub pena supradicta non intelligendo cendatum.

Si vero forent aliqui vel alique qui ad presens contrasissent nuptias vel matrimonium secundum modernas consuetudines videlicet quod promisissent ultra numerum repromisse correda et vestes ultra quantitate librarum XL. grossorum, si nundum dicta correda et vestes fuerint facte non fiant ultra quantitatem predictam sub pannis supradictis. Ita tamen quod quolibet pretium in eorum pactis possit et valeat eorum sequi jura sua in illo precium dummodo in nichilo non contrafaciat ordinibus supradictis per illum modum qui melius eis placebit. Intelligendo tantum de nuptijs et matrimonijs qui ad presens sunt formati et nundum transducta.

Alie vero que fierent de cetero fiant et in totum intelligantur ad stricturas et ordinamenta supradicta et si forent alique quibus per testamentum vel legata rerum foret dimissa aliqua quantitas pecunie pro corredis ultra quantitatem librarum XL. grossorum non possit uti de dictis corredis ultra quantitate librarum XL. grossorum modo aliquo vel ingenio in pena librarum $\frac{o}{v}$ parvorum et perditionis totius pluris. Et de cetero addatur in capitulari notariorum Venecijs quod teneantur et debeant quando accipiunt preces alicui testi recordari testatori et testatrici quod non dimittatur suis filiabus in corredis ultra ordinem predictum librarum XL. grossorum.

Quia non minus decet masculos ire honestos quam feminas vadit pars. Quod aliquis puer masculus alicuius condicionis civis et habitator Venecijs ab annis XII. completis infra modo

aliquo vel ingenio non possit portare aurum vel argentum perlas vel margaritas nec vellutum in pena perdendi totum illud in quo fuerit contrafactum. Pelles varias armelinas et grissas sub aliquo eius varnimento in pena perdendi varnimenta ipsa sed liceat eis portare solum maspileos argenteos vel auratos qui vadant XII. pro uncia et non minus sub dicta; pena ab annis XII. supra non possit portare supra aliqua eius vestimenta tam de capite quam de dosso aurum vel argentum perlas vel margaritas in pena perdendi ea vestimenta cum ornamentis earum sed liceat ei portare tamen maspileos argenteos vel auratos ad omne suum beneplacitum, centuram vel cingulum alicuius nominis vel condicionis que excedat valorem ducatorum XXV. non possit portare in pena perdendi eam; ab annis XII. usque XXV. modo aliquo vel ingenio non possit portare sub aliqua clamide capa vel Risalio vel aliqua alia mantadura solum pellem aliquam variam grissam vel armelinam in pena perdendi dicta varnimenta de panno ad aurum vel velluto pro eius usu non possint habere ultra tria capita non intelligendo de tilis cum alijs pannis de lana de quibus habere possint alia tria capita et non ultra in pena perdendi totum plus.

Item quod pueri et puelle ab annis octo completis infra non possint ire ad convivium prandij vel cene nuptiarum vel marcarum in pena librarum X. parvorum pro quolibet contrafaciente et qualibet vice salvo ad nuptias fratris vel sororis.

Et de omnibus et singulis penis supradictis teneantur viri pro uxoribus, pater pro filijs et filiabus, nepotibus et neptibus et pro neptibus et nuribus suis que essent in sua potestate. Et similiter mater vidua pro predictis qui essent in sua potestate.

Quoniam pro honore ducatus dominus dux et domina-ducissa cum omnibus eorum filijs nepotibus pronepotibus nuribus et tam femine quam masculi possint uti et portare quicquid voluerint donec habitaverint in palatio.

Item licet cuilibet militi, iudici vel medico conventato posse portare quicquid voluerint in suis personis proprijs.—(*From Romanin, No. 6, pp.* 386–9.)

No. XI.

COMMISSION *of* ANTONIO BEMBO, *Venetian Ambassador to London.* A.D. 1409.

Q. fiat comissio nob. viró ser Antonio Bombo militi ituro oratori ad regiam maiestatem Angliae.

Nos Michael Steno Dei gratia dux Venetiar. etc. comittimus tibi nob. viro Antonio Bembo militi, dilecto civ. n'ro. q. in bona gratia ire debeas noster solennis Orator et etiam vice capitaneus galear. n'rar. Londre ad psentiam Serenissim. d'ni Regis Angliae et alior. dn'or. quib. p'ntatis n'ris literis credencialib. et facta devota salutatione et oblatione cum verbis ptinentibus et decentibus prout cognoveris fore honoris dicti Sm'i d'ni Regis et alior. dnor. quib. tibi fieri fecimus literas credulitatis ac nri dominii.

Subsequenter expones maiestati sue qualiter anno elapso, occasione novitatis facte contra galeas et mercatores ac mercationes in partib. Londre, misimus ad p'ntiam suam Reverendissim. patrem, Fratrem Jeronimum sacre pagine pfessorem, in nr'um ambasiatorem pro reformatione rextitutione et emenda fienda n'ris mcatorib. et civibus danna passis, p. cuius relationem sentimus maiestatem regiam esse sicut semper fuit, ad comoda n'ror. mercantor. m'cantiar. subditor. et fidelium benigne dispositam. Et ideo pro ostendendo amorem, devotionem et caritatem quam semper habuimus habemus et habere intendimus erga serenitatem suam, d'nos et regnicolas suos ut toti mondo constat, q. inter maiestatem suam nos n'rumq. dominium nunq. fuerit aliqua causa rancoris, misimus te ad pn'tiam suae majestatis, quam n'ri parte instare rogare et solicitare debeas q. dignetur velle condescendere ad requisitiones n'ras alias sibi factas p. d'cm Fratrem Jeronimum ambasciatorem; et ut hoc melius facere possis, fecimus tibi

dare copiam comissionis, quam alias dedimus dicto magistro Jeronimo, volentes et sic tibi mandamus q. effectum ejus debeas solicite procurare, apud tam d'nm regem prdctum, quam apud alios d'nos apud quos erit necesst. procurare.

Et ut omnia pdicta cum bona et deliberata terminatione facere possis, volumus q. subito cum applicueris in Londra debeas esse cum vicecunsule n'ro de inde et ibi vocare consilium n'rum de inde in quo consilio exponere debeas causam ambasiate tuae et ibi terminari debeat per dictum consilium, modus et via, quem habebis observare in petendo et solicitando obtinere tibi comissa, tam in eundo ad p'ntiam dicti dni regis, quam alior. domnor. et a quib. primo incipere habebis et sicut per dictum consilium fuerit terminatum, item debeas executioni mandare. Verum si dictus d'ns rex esset distans a civitate Londre volumus q. dictum consilium terminet cum quot equis et famulis ire debetis pro honore nri dnii et sicut fuerit terminatum ita debeas observare, non possendo ducere tecum eundo ad pntiam dicti d'ni regis ultra numer. equor. decem. Nam nra intencio est q. omnis espensa que fiet p.te, ultra salarium et expensam tibi limitatam vadat ad vaream omnium mercationum que conducentur ad partes Bruzes et Londre et de Londra et Bruzos conducentur Venetias.

Et quia certi reddimus q. ante recessum galear. n'rar. de inde fueris de omnib. tibi comissis expeditus, tamen quia posset ocurrere q. non fuisses expeditus, quia d'ns rex seu alii suo nomine, dicerent tibi q. oporteret petita p. nos diffiniri et terminari in generali parlamento, quod parlamentum, ut dicitur, congregatur circa medium ms. septembris, volumus q. ocurrente casu pdicto ante recessum dictar. galear. debeas vocare consilium de inde per quod terminari debeat si remanere debebis de inde ad procurandum tibi comissa, vel ne, et si terminabitur q. remanere debeas, tminari debeat tempus, quo remanere debebis, licet n'ra intentio sit, quod non possis stare nisi uno mense in partibus de inde post recessum galear. n'rar. ad procurandum obtinere ea que tibi comittimus, sed minori tpre sit, p. quod consilium terminetur cum quanta

familia remanere debebis de inde et quod facere habebis et procurare in parlamento predicto. Et ut melius hoc obtinere possis, sumus contenti q. accopere debeas unum bonum et sufficientem advocatum, cui solvi debeat id quod erit justum et terminatum per dictum consilium q. expense vadant ad vaream ut superius continetur, declarando nichilominus quod patroni galear. solvant illud quod tenentur in casu quo venires p. terram et omnem aliam expensam quam faceres in veniendo p. terram ultra tibi limitatam, vadat ad vaream ut superius continetur et veniendo Venet. p. terram non possis conducere nisi equos quatuor et unam guidam.

Verum qui sumus informati q. si diferentia Rizardi Stil captaretur esset forte causa dandi materiam de rehabendo emendam dannor. illator. et faciendi in futur. bene tractare n'ros m'catores et subditos, quia idem Rizardus est costumerius de inde, propterea tibi comittimus q. esse debeas cum viceconsule et consilio n'ro de inde et p. illum meliorem modum qui dicto consilio videbitur, debeatis providere de essendo in concordio cum Rizardo pdicto, et id quod expendetur occasione pdicta, vadat ad vaream omnium mercantionum que ibunt ad partes Bruzes et Londra et Bruzos Venetias conducentur, declarando q. ob hanc causam non possit expendere ultra ducatos trecentos et ab inde infra, qr. idem Rizardus habuit suum capitale et ultra.

Comittimus etiam q. procurare debeatis satisfactionem et emendam denarior. quos habere debet nob. vir s. Johannes Zane in partibus Angliae prout tibi ordinate dabit in scriptis, cum illis verbis et rationibus que tue sapientie videbunt ut ad satisfactionem debitam valeat pvenire.

It. comittimus q. toto posse tuo procurare debeas de habendo mandatum in bona et sufficienti forma, q. si aliquis noster civis subditus vel fidelis in partibus Londre et Anglie accipiet in credencia aliquas mercationes ab aliquib. subditis dni regis Anglie et dictus talis non faceret solutiones suas, quod alii nri cives non molestentur ob hoc, quia iniustum est, q. unus pro alio debeat pati pena, quia sic observatur in

omnib. partib. mondi, et q. idem dns rex dignetur facere publice proclamari in locis suis solitis q. si aliquis subditus suus dabit mercationes suas in credencia alicui veneto vel subdito co'is Venetiar. et dictus talis non solveret, q. dicto tali subdito regio occasione pdicta non ministrabitur justitiam c'ra aliquem venetum nec subditum co'is Venetiar. sed solum contra debitorem et bona sua.

It. quia habes deinde certa tua negotia expedire volumus et sic espresse vobis comittimus q. sub debito sacramenti et sub pena incurrendi indignationem n'ri dnii, nullo modo debeas procurare negotia tua propria, nisi prius videris conclusionem negotior. nror. tibi comissor.; facta autem conclusione sup. negotiis tibi comissis, sumus contenti et sic p. p'ntes tibi concedimus q. ultra terminum superius limitatum possis stare ad solicitandum et procurandum negotia tua diebus octo et non ultra.

Fecimus tibi consignari aliqua exenia portanda s'nissimo d'no regi et certis aliis dnis Anglie et ppterea tibi mandamus quat. dicta exenia tam dicto d'no regi quam aliis dnis pdictis presentare seu presentari facere debeas n'ro nomine subito cum in Londra applicueris.

Et quia quedam navis cuius erat patronus Antonius Faxolo civis n'r in qua erant onuste alique mercationes n'ror civium ex'ns in porto Melacii regie majestatis Sicilie, fuit p. quamdam galeam ex'ntem ad servicia S'nissimi dni regis Ludovici, que in dicto portu erat, hostiliter capta, cum auxilio unius coche de Messana que ibi erat, et ultra hoc permisit res et mercationes depredatas vendi in Messana prout p. continentiam literar. n'rar. quas d'no rege Sicilie et suo straticho Messane scribimus, et ear. copiam tibi dedimus, videbis distinctius contineri et pptea tib. comittimus quod cum applicueris Messanam cum nris literis credulitatis, comparere debeas coram dicto straticho Messane et ei exponere novitatem pdictam ac ostendere cum illis verbis, que tue sapiencie videbuntur, quantum dicta violentia et preda fuerit et sit nobis displicibilis et molesta et p. omnem modum et viam possibilem procurabis

apud straticho pdictum de habendo satisfationem et restitutionem danni pdicti et id quod habebis debeas nobis per tuas literas denotare.

Similiter q. damnificatus fuit iam duob. a'nis elapsis Nicoletus Lombardo civis n'r. patronus unius navis p. quamdam galeam srnissimi dni regis Sicilie et idem d'nus rex promisit solvere prout p. literas suas apparet, debeas nichilominus de dicto dano noticiam dare dicto straticho et rogare q. procuret satisfactionem et emendam danni pdicti et ut de eo sis plene informatus fecimus tibi dare copia litere nre quam scribimus d'co d'no regi.

Habere debes de salario pro ista tua ambasiata et vicecapitaneria ducatos quadrigentos quor. centum solvere debent patroni galear. et centum n'rum comune, alii autem ducenti ire debent ad vaream omnium mercantionum que de omnibus galeis discaricabuntur in Londra et que in Londra caricabuntur super ipsis galeis et ducere debes duos famulos tuis salario et exps. Verum de quanto steteris in mari sup. dictis galeis eundo et redeundo habere debes expensas oris p. te et dictis duobus famulis a galeis pdictis. Unum autem tercium famulum ducere debeas omnibs. tuis expensis. Et debes esse vicecapitan. galear. Londre cum illis modis et conditionib. cum quib. soliti sunt esse alii n'ri vicecapitanei galear. Londre et cum libertate faciendi fieri pagam zurmis dictar. galear. quam habet capitaneus et non potes facere nec fieri facere de mercationibus in Londra.—(*From Romanin, vol.* III. *part* 3, *pp.* 391–5.)

No. XII.

Treaty of Peace *with* Mohammed II. *April* 18, 1454.

Mi gram Signor et grande Amira Soldam Mahamet Bey fio fo del gram Segnor et gram Amira Morat bey Juro in Dio creator del Cielo et dela terra et in el gram propheta Maha-

met, et in li VII Musaphy che tegnimo et confessemo nuj Musulmani et in li XXIV^m^ propheti de dio o più o meno et in la fede che mi credo et confesso et in l'anima de mio padre, et in l'anima mia et in la spada che me zenzo (*cingo*). Conciosia che la mia Segnoria havesse per avanti paxe et amicitia cum la Illustrissima et Excellentissima deta Signoria de Venexia et habiano voluto far nuovo Sagramento cum la mia Signoria a confermation dela prima paxe confermada adì X del mese de septembrio in l'anno 6960 indictione XV^a^ in Adrinopoli per la vegnuda del spectabel misier Lorenzo Moro honorèvole Ambassador dela prefata Illustrissima deta Signoria. Et habiano mundato el glorioso et nobelissimo et honorado zentilhomo Ambassador degno dela prefata Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia misier Bartholomeo Marcello per confirmation et reformation dela dita paxe ac etiam de certe dechiaratiou de nuovo contrato como aparerà in li sotoscripti Capitoli oltra la forma de la predita prima paxe reformadi et conclusi infra la mia Signoria et la prefata Illustrissima deta Signoria. Perho io gram Segnor et gram amira soldam Mahamet bey prometo per li soprascripti sagramenti che de sopra ho zurado che come era la paxe et amicitia per avanti cum la prelibata Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia cum li zentilhomeni soi picoli et grandi et cum tuti altri suo subditi et colegadi ho fato et faso fedel bona e dreta et pura paxe et senza dolo per mar et per terra citade terre et Ixole et luogi che lievano el confalon de San Marco et quante levarano dancò (*da oggi*) inavanti et in le cosse che i possiedeno al dì dancuo et quelle che i possiederano in el tempo ha a vegnir la prelibata Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia.

Capitoli dela prima paxe.

Primo: niuno deli subditi et homeni che sianq sugeti et che se sotometesse ala mia Segnoria faza algun danno ne che mi mel meta pur in el animo ne consentir che el se faza algun danno over impazo per comandamento et voluntade dela mia Segnoria. E per alguna caxon alcun cativo homo dela mia

Segnoria non debia far danno over impazo al comun de Venexia. Et se per questo vegnisse alguna notitia over rechiamo ala mia Segnoria, io lo debia castigar condecentemente segondo el suo delicto per exempio de altri che se reguardino de far algun danno over molestia ala Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia et nuoxer a quelli che sera sta principio del mal, possando quelli castigar e correzer; simelmente debia far la Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia verso la mia Segnoria et verso tuti i mie luogi.

Item se per alguna caxon se atrovasse homo over homeni i quali avesse fato tratado over tradimento contra la Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia per tradir cittade terre castelle caxal o ixola overo algun altro luogo ala mia Segnoria over a homo dela mia Segnoria, debia comandar la mia Segnoria che la restituisca indriedo et le cosse che fosseno sta tolte dal dì danchuo debia comandar che se renda salve cum integritade alla Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia. Simelmente debia far la Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia.

Item se homo che fosse subdito dela mia Signoria scampasse per furto over tratado et tolesse roba de Musulmani et fugisse in luogo de Venitiani et trovassesse, debiasse restituir la roba insieme cum lo homo. Simelmente la granda mia Segnoria debia far verso la Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia.

Tuti i mercadanti et subditi della Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia cum le sue robe et cum zò che haverano, navilij, navi, fuste grande et picole habiano libertà d'intrar et insir (*uscir*) vender et comprar per tutti i luogi della mia Segnoria e quante volte i vorano et in li luogi dei homeni nostri suzeti (*soggetti*) et sotoposti ala mia Segnoria como era consueto in prima in la prima et bona paxe, siano salvi in mare et in terra como era uxado avanti in el tempo de mio padre.

Simelmente debia far la Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia.

Dele galee et fuste armade che insirà de Galipoli et altri luogi dela mia Segnoria et de quele che se trovasseno fuora del streto se fasi la usanza che fora prima.

El Duca de Nixia et suo fradelli: Item li Zentilhomeni soi et homeni loro cum i suo luogi et cum quel che i hano, navilij, galie et fuste cum le suò robe siano in la paxe. Et che non siano obligadi de tributo over algun altro servixio ala mia signoria. Ma sia in la subiection de la Segnoria de Venexia come son stati da prima. E debiano passar per homeni Venetiani.

Quante galie et navilij nave et fuste grande et picole merchadantesche dela mia Segnoria che insira fuora del Streto de Galipoli et daltri luogi dela mia Segnoria dove che se trovàsse debiano haver da Venetiani bona compagnia et paxe. Simelmente quelle de Venetiani per quanto segnorizza la mia Segnoria in terra et in mar siano simelmenti salvi.

Debiano dar ala mia Segnoria per Nepanto al anno del mexe de fevrer lo limitado segondo lo consueto, che sono ducati 100 dele intrade de Nepanto como daxevano a mio padre. E per le terre che tieno in lo confine dela mia Segnoria in l'Albania, in lo luogo del Balsà, Scutari, Alexio et Drivasto per i qual daxevano a mio padre ducati 200. Et habiando tolto dele man dela Segnoria Drivasto debiano dar per Scutari et Alexio ducati Venetiani 136 che suma in tuto ducati 236 al mexe de fevrer e che sia tegnudo el Bajulo che sera in Costantinopoli mandar alla mia Segnoria ducati Venetiani 236.

Item tuti li mercadanti Venetiani et che per Venetiani sono reputadi dove che sieno per tuto el luogo dela mia Segnoria stando andando venendo mescolandose cum Venetiani in comprar et vender, et algum rumpesse over facesse alcuna altra cativitade, che non sia tenudo ne impedito l'uno per l'altro. Simelmente li mei mercadanti in li luogi de Venitianj.

Item se per algum caxo schiavo over schiava de Venetianj per alguna caxon che se fosse se atrovasse in luogo dela mia Segnoria e che el fosse fugido e che homo lo avesse involado che sia subdito dela mia Signoria e fosse deventa Musulman debia dar per ogni schiavo aspri mille moneda dela mia Segnoria. Veramente se el fosse Cristiam quello debo render in

dredo senza alguna recusation. Simelmente i Venitiani alla mia Segnoria.

Capitoli da nuovo contracti.

Questi sono certi Capitoli dannovo contracti et reformadi et conclusi cum lo Illustrissimo gram Segnor Turcho per el mezo del spectabel Misier Bartholamio Marcello dignissimo Orator della Illustrissima et Excellentissima deta Signoria de Venexia oltra la confirmation dela avanti scripta prima paxe. Et prima:

Che cadaum Venetiam e che per Venetiam sono reputadi in chadaum luogo del prefato Illustrissimo Segnor et specialiter qui in Constantinopoli, cussi quelli sono reputadi Venetiani de presente como in lo avegnir possino star vegnir, et partir cum le suo fameie senza algum timor et impedimento liberamente si per mar come per terra cum suo galie et nave et navilij et suo mercadantie condur et vender et comprar, siando tegnudi pagar el comerchio solamente de tuto quello i venderano 2 per cento. E dè quello non serà vendudo possino trar liberamente per dove i vorano senza pagar algun comerchio.

Item tute Mercadantie che se trazerano per investida paga do per cento.

Item che tute galie et nave et navilij de ogni sorta che passerano per questo luogo si in lo andar como in lo vegnir debiano sorzer in el porto de Constantinopoli solamente et tuor quello li piaxerà et partirse liberamente.

Item tute teste che serano condute de mar mazor siando de nation christiana se possi condur etiam per dove li piaxera liberamente. Et se alguna ne fosse venduda pagar se debia do per cento dechiarando chel non se possi condur del dito luogo alguna testa Musulmana et essendo conduta sia presa senza refar algum pagamento.

Item tuti mercadanti Venetiani che dele parti da basso condurano cum lor a suo servitij algun fameio o servo o libero, et sia de che condition se voia non li si possi dar algun impedimento over molestia e questo ancora se intende ai Marcadanti sono de presente in questo luogo.

Item non voiando el dito Illustrissimo Segnor che nium de Pera che fosse debitor a Venetianj pagasse, pur ha contentà che tuti Zenovexi possino esser astreti a pagar i lor debiti excepto quello o la valuta che el dito segnor Turcho havesse fato tuor per forza che fosse sta roba de quello Venetian crededor.

Item che le intrade che havea el Patriarcha de Constantinopoli in tuti i luogi dela Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia in tempo del Imperador de Constantinopoli cussi haver le debia de presente.

Item che tuti li Mercadanti delo illustrissimo segnor Turcho andarano cum suo mercadantia in li luogi dela Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia non debia pagar de più de comerchio de quello fano Venetianj in li luogi del dito Illustrissimo Segnor, ma cussi debbiano pagar.

Item tuti i navilj de Mercadantia de i subditi dell' illustrissimo Segnor che fosseno incalzadi sopra algum porto dela Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia dove sera cità over castello over altra forteza si chel se possi defender che la prefata deta Illustrissima Signoria de Venexia sia tegnuda suo posse a farli defender come suo proprij. E lo simile e tegnudo a far el dito Illustrissimo Segnor.

Item tuti i parichi del dito Segnor che fugirano et vadino entro i luogi dela illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia quella sia tegnuda farli restituir de presente. Et sia de che condition se voia: E per lo simel se debia observar per lo predito illustre Segnor.

Item occorando caxo rumpesse over pericolasse alguna galia over nave et de ogni altra condition navilio dei subditi dela Illustrissima deta Signoria de Venexia in tuti i luogi sottoposti al dito Illustrissimo Segnor chel sia tegnudo ed obligado far far cum integritade satisfation del haver et homeni et navilio a chi i partegnissi de tuto quello fosse scapolado (*salvato*) e liberado senza algun impedimento liberamente. Et lo simile se debia observar per la Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia.

Item tuti quelli Venetianj over reputadi Venetianj che

mancherà over morirà in tuti i luogi sotoposti al dito Illustrissimo segnor Turcho senza testamento over idonea ordination et senza herede, chel non sia del suo alguna cossa tocado ma sia fato far per el Baiulo et chadì et subassi del luogo uno vero inventario del tuto el suo debiando restar tuto in desposito in le man de misier lo baiulo. Et sel fosse in luogo dove non fosse Baiulo et fosse algun Venetian restar debia in le man de quello per lo modo dito per fin atanto chel sia produte lettere dela Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia che dechiari et comandi a chi dar se doverà tute cosse.

Item che a tuti i nimici del dito Illustrissimo Segnor la prefata Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia non debia ne possi dare algun subsidio ne adiutorio de galie nave ne de alguna altra sorta navilij ne per via de falso nolizamento over per algun altro modo ne anme ne vituarie ne adiutorio de homeni ne de danari voiando vegnir contra el Stato del dito Segnor over suo luogi et subditi. E questo medemo observar dè lo dito Illustrissimo Segnor verso la Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia.

Item tuti i castelli citade forteze che la Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia ha in Romania et Albania non debian aceptar algun inimigo over traditor del dito Illustrissimo Segnor ne darli subsidio ne passo ne per mar ne per terra. Et se cussì la prefata Illustrissima deta Segnoria non observerà el sia in libertà del ditò Illustrissimo Segnor contra quelle tal terre et castellj far quello li parerà. Et niente meno la paxe non interrupta ne violada se intenda. E lo simel observar se dè per lo prefato Illustrissimo Segnor verso la Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia.

Item la Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia possi et voglia ad ogni suo buon piaxer mandar in Constantinopoli Baiulo cum la suo fameia segondo sua uxanza el qual habia libertà *in Civil rezer et governar et justitia administrar infra suo Venetiani de ogni condition* obligandosse el dito Segnor far chel suo subassi darà ogni favor al dito Baiulo sempre che per lui sera rechiesto bixonandoli per far lo officio suo liberamente.

Item tuti i danni che sono stati fati avanti el caxo de Constantinopoli per i subditi del Segnor a tuti Venetiani si in haver come in persona provando idoneamente, el dito Segnor è contento et cussi se obliga che tuti siano restauradi integramente. E simelmente sia tegnuda la Illustrissima Segnoria de Venexia observar de converso.

Item che Venetianj possi condur cum lor galie et nave ogni sorta argenti in piatine et altro modo et lavoradi et roti et de tuti li possi vender et navegar et in ogni luogo del dito Illustrissimo Segnor comprar trar et remeter dove li parerà et piaxerà liberamente senza pagar algun comerchio dechiarando che tuti quelli arzenti non lavoradi et roti ma altri si i sieno tegnudi qui a presentarli a quello dela Zecha e quelli farli bollar. Et possi disponer quello i parerà et piaxerà ut supra.

Item che cussi como quelli de Constantinopoli non deno ne voiasse i sieno astreti che per el simel i nostri de simel condition non siano constreti sì che non si possi adimandar l'un al altro de debiti creadi fin al caxo del dito luogo.

Le qual tute cosse si nuove como vechie che a nui parse far et scriver havemo fato et scripto et compido et per tuto, zurado e fermade et statuide et ordenade et firmiter per nui tenute et observade firmiter et veraciter per tuti li supracripti juramenti scripti et zuradi volemo haver fermo et rato sempre per fin che quello observerà et fermo haverà la prelibata Illustrissima deta Segnoria de Venexia. E per fermeza ho fato lo presente zuramento et scripto.

Datum a creatione mundi 6962 adi 18 Aprile Indictione II in Constantinopoli.—(*From Romanin, vol.* IV. *part* IV. *pp.* 528–35.)

No. XIII.

Commission of Maffeo Lioni. *July* 29, 1456.

Franciscus Foscari Dei gratia dux Venetiarum, etc.

Cometemo a ti nobel homo Mafio Lion, sovracomito de la galia del colfo, cum el nostro Conscio di X cum la zonta che

cum la galia a ti comessa tu debi Jacomo, fiol nostro, el qual nui te avemo fato consignar, condur a la Cania, el qual tu debi ben guardar, e consignar al rezimento de la Cania, cum le letere directive al dito rezimento, le quali nui te avemo fato consignar; comandandote cum el dito Conseio di X cum la zonta, che, levado del porto nostro de san Nicolò, tu drezi la via toa a la Cania, cum ogni diligentia e solicitudene a ti possibele, solicitando la to via, non tochando alcun luogo, noma constretto de necessità, che altramente tu non podesti far, e tochando alcun luogo non debi desmontar de galia per alcun muodo, mo' a la guardia del dito Jacomo cum diligentia tu debi attender e vigilar, in modo che tu 'l condugi a la Cania, e consegni al dito rezimento como è predicto, governandote per muodo, che de la tua diligentia et execution del presente nostro comandamento apresso de nui e 'l dito Conseio meritamente tu possi esser laudado e comendado. E, consignado el dito Jacomo al predicto rezimento de la Cania, non havendo altro comandamento, debi subito drezar la to via a trovar el to capetanio, el qual die esser ne le acque de Modon, o dove el fosse. Se altro comandamento te fose dado, quello tu debi observar (?) Azochè per comandamento tu non resti de partir del nostro porto de san Nicolò sabado proximo ultimo del presente, soto pena de la desgratia del Conseio di Diexe.—Die 29 iulii 1456.—(*From Berlan, p.* 130.)

No. XIV.

PARTICULARS *of a* SALE *of* GALLEYS *by* AUCTION. A.D. 1332.

Die XXIIII. martij incantate fuerunt in Rivoalto per Consiliarios et capita infrascripte galee Maris maioris et infrascriptis date:

In primis habuit unam galeam s. (*ser*) Zanetus Contarenus filius s. Michaelis pro libris LXXXI. grossorum; plegius s. Fantinus Contarenus.

Item habuit secundam galeam s. Andreolus Maurocenus filius s. Marini sancte Marie Formose pro libris LXXV. grossorum; plegius s. Nicoletus Maurocenus Cabusca.

Item habuit tertiam galeam s. Joannes Michael Scazo pro libris LXV. grossorum; plegius s. Zanetus Superantius domini Thome die 23 Aprilis.

Item habuit quartam galeam s. Nicoletus Gradonico pro libris LXVIII. grossorum; plegius s. Nicoletus Barbadicus.

Item habuit quintam galeam s. Marcus Bragadeno pro libris LXX. grossorum; plegius s. Nicoletus Bragadenus frater ejus.

Item habuit sextam galeam s. Zifredus Maurocenus pro libris LXXI. grossorum; plegius s. Nicoletus Maurocenus.

Item habuit septimam galeam s. Bertucius Pisani sancti Simeonis pro libris LXXII. grossorum; plegius s. Marcus de Molino.

Item habuit octavam galeam s. Zanetas Superantius filius Tome pro libris LXXII. grossorum; plegius s. Joannes Michael Scazo die 23 Aprilis.

Item habuit nonam galeam s. Marcus de Molino q^{m} Azonis pro libris LXXV. grossorum; plegius s. Bertucius Pisani.

Item habuit decimam galeam s. Andreolus Justinianus pro libris LXXV. grossorum; plegius s. Bernardus Justiniano.— (*From Romanin*, IV. 375–6.)

No. XV.

PRIVILEGES *granted by the* EMPEROR OF TREBIZOND *to the* VENETIANS, *at the request of the Doge* GIOVANNI SORANZO, *and of the Venetian Ambassador*, PANTALEONE MICHIELI. A.D. 1319.

Imperium meum gratia Dei a principio usque ad presens semper habuit et dilexit pacem cum omnibus, et ad presens diligit et habet ut convenit: non solum cum circa vicinis nostris diligit imperium meum et habet pacem, sed etiam cum

omnibus a longe morantibus. Postquam nobilissimus et sapientissimus vir dominus Ioannes Superantio Dux, et coram amicis intimis imperii mei, cum nobilibus dominis terre sue, misit ad imperium meum nobilem virum, scilicet Pantaleonem Michel, in suum ambaxiatorem, petentem ex parte dicti domini Ducis pacem et concordiam legitimam cum imperio meo, et quod possit dictus dominus Dux facere scalam in Trapesonda sicut faciunt Ianuenses; illam ambaxatam dicti domini Ducis et nobilem terre sue libenter accepimus et intelleximus: predicto domino Pantaleoni ambaxatori dantes presens Privilegium, continens quod a modo nobiles et fideles Venetiarum, tam parvi quam magni, habebunt acceptationem benignam imperii mei, eundi et redeundi per imperium meum secure sine aliqua molestia, sive impedimento in omnibus partibus imperii mei, tam civitatibus quam castris, adhuc quod dicti nobiles et fideles Venetiarum, tam parvi quam magni, possint secure ad civitates et portus imperii mei venire, stare et recedere, sine molestia aliqua imperii mei, et nobilium virorum meorum et capitaneorum, et etiam navium et gallearum mearum, et omnium navigiorum meorum; facientes in omnibus partibus supradictis mercemonia et negotia sua omnia, tam ipsi Veneti, quam procuratores et nuntii ipsorum, tam per terram quam per mare, ad eorum voluntatem, solvendo tamen comercium solitum. Postquam ergo quod dictus dominus Dux et nobiles Venetiarum rogaverunt imperium meum, et intentionem suam et securitatem posuerunt super me, et ostenderunt se esse servitores imperii mei; precipit imperium meum, et denuntiat per presens privilegium, quod dicti de Venetiis debeant solvere rectum comercium sicut Ianuenses solvunt, neque plus neque minus. Et ad hoc ut ipsi sciant comercium quod debent solvere, precipimus sic: quod solvant de qualibet sauma mercimoniorum quam apportabunt per mare, et vellent ipsam per terram extrahere occasione vendendi, viginti aspros monete imperii mei. Item, de omnibus mercationibus erunt ponderabiles, solvant venditores tria pro centenario, et pro pensatura unum cum dimidio pro centenario, et emptores solvant secundum consuetudinem; et

si mercationes non erunt ponderabiles, solvant venditores tria pro centenario tantum. Si venditores et emptores erunt veneti, et mercationes erunt ponderis, solvant venditores unum cum dimidio pro centenario, et emptores totidem; et si mercationes non erunt ponderis, et emptores et venditores erunt veneti, nihil solvant. Et hoc sciatur et cognoscatur, quod sauma mercationum que non disligabitur et non portabitur extra imperium meum pro vendendo, ymo reducetur retro, non solvat aliquid; et si disligabitur et visa fuerit et non empta a mercatoribus, et retro portabitur per possessores ipsius sine aliqua venditione, similiter nihil solvat. Item aurum et argentum, margarite, centure et alia similia possint apportari per Venetos, et vendi in partibus mei imperii, sine aliquo commercio, et extrahi, salvo commercio supradicto viginti asprorum pro sauma, quod debet solvi, ut supra dicitur. Omnes autem mercatores venientes per terram in imperium meum sint ad similem conditionem ad quam sunt venientes per mare; videlicet, salvi et securi ut supra continetur, salvo quod debeant solvere de unaquaque sauma mercationum, in introitu dicti imperii mei, aspros duodecim, et de toto illo quod vendent solvant unum pro centenario; et si Venetus vendet Veneto aut emet ab eo pannos aureos vel de serico, aut bocaran vel similia, solvent unum pro centenario: et hoc esse debet secundum consuetudinem Ianuensium. Si vero forenses venirent cum Venetis in partibus imperii mei, tractabuntur et solvent ut forenses: et supradictum comercium totum exigetur per vistiarium meum, et non per aliam personam, nisi imperium de hoc concordaret secum. Vobis Venetis ad hoc denuntiat imperium meum, quod Veneti debeant habere balanciam, palmum et metassarios Venetos, sicut habent Ianuenses. Item dictus ambaxator, ex parte dicti domini Ducis, requisivit terram et certum locum pro habitatione sua ab imperio meo; et imperium meum cognoscens et videns hanc petitionem esse iustam, precipit et denuntiat per dictum privilegium, quod a loco vocato Canitu per medium Bondo Castri, et a magazeno Sancti Eugenii versus occidens, ut capit et girat sic, hoc est incipit ab ecclesia Sancte

Margharite, et tendit usque caput vie Maitamu, et per viam orientis firmat in quodam riacello, et inde girat totum predictum riacellum, usque ad marinam, et postea redit versus occidens, et girat et ascendit versus montem, et firmat in Petra Nigra, et inde redit versus oriens, firmans apud domos superiores, et firmat in veteri bagno, et vadit usque ad ecclesiam a qua incepimus; qui locus summat passus ducentos viginti septem, de decem palmis pro quolibet passu. Et in toto isto loco debent Veneti edificare ecclesiam, et ponere presbyteros vel fratres ad eorum voluntatem; et edificare domos et loiam, et facere creari Baiulum qui teneat rationem Venetis, et habeat precones suos, et habeat etiam nobiles in sua sotietate, et domicellos secundum consuetudinem Romanie; et [sicut] Bajulus facit in Romania, ita faciat etiam in imperio meo, videlicet in manutenendo rationem et in dispiciendo contrarium, ut amat et diligit imperium meum. Adhuc precipit imperium meum, quod concordia que est inter vos et imperium meum sit cum hac conditione: quod navigia universa tam parva quam magna imperii mei debeant esse et stare cum omnibus navigiis vestris in omni bono, pace et concordia, in unitate: quod erit placibile amicis omnibus nostris et displicibile inimicis. Adhuc imperium meum per presens privilegium precipit, quod supradicta omnia observentur inviolabiliter in perpetuum. Et si quis de hominibus imperii mei contra predicta ire presumpserit, tam in faciendo contra predicta, quam etiam in aliquibus violentiis faciendo hominibus Venetis, maledictionem et correctionem imperii mei habebit, tamquam infedelis imperii mei, presente privilegio testante, ut imperium meum confirmavit secundum consuetudinem. Scriptum in mense iulii secunde indictionis, in sexto milleno octavo centeno vigesimo septimo.

THE END.

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